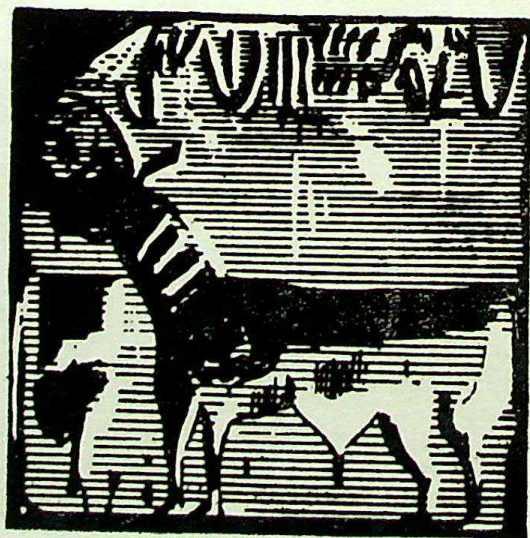
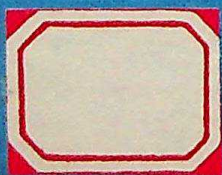


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**THE
INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY**

Edited by
N. N. Law

Vol. XXIV,

Ramanand Vidya Bhawan

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Prehistoric Exploration in India

I. THE STONE AGE

An attempt has been made in this paper to present a history of the exploration of the Stone Ages in India, and incidentally to take stock of the present state of our knowledge relating to the earliest period of Indian antiquity.

A. *The Palaeolithic Age*

The middle of the nineteenth century witnessed in Europe a brisk progress in the systematic study of the stone artifacts left by early man. The publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 provided the necessary authority for an immense antiquity for Man and the proper setting in which the crude stone objects, suspected or haltingly recognized by some for more than a century as the work of human hand, could take their natural place in the history of human endeavour. It was then that the find of flint implements in the valley of the Somme near Abbéville in northern France by Boucher de Perthes, which, by their position in the gravel-bed, postulated an extreme antiquity for their authors, could be unhesitatingly accepted as genuine.

Shortly after this, in 1863, the first palaeolith was identified in India by Robert Bruce Foote of the Geological Survey of India amidst the spoils turned out of a small ballast-pit dug in the laterite gravels at Pallāvaram in Chingleput District, Madras Presidency. This was quickly followed by the discovery of a collection of palaeoliths on the banks of a *nullah* at Attirampakkam in the same District. Early next year he found more implements at Pallāvaram. Discoveries followed in quick succession, and during the next four decades Foote collected

from South India, the main focus of his activities, an immense amount of prehistoric material of various categories. The collection was acquired by the Madras Museum in 1904 and is the richest of its class in India.¹

The researches of Foote, usefully supplemented by those of other geologists and antiquaries, such as Oldham, Macleod, Blanford, King, Fedden, Ball, Wauchope and others, plotted a large number of palaeolithic sites on the map of India, in Kistna, Guntūr, Kurnool, Bellary, Cuddapah, Nellore, Chingleput, North Arcot, Tanjor, Trichinopoly and Madurā Districts in Madras Presidency; Belgāum, Dhārwar and Bijāpur Districts (on the banks of the Malprabhā and Bennihalla, tributaries of the Kistna) in Bombay Presidency; on the banks of the Godāvarī in Hyderabad State; in different places in Mysore State; in Dhenkānāl and Talcher States, and Angul and Sambalpur Districts in Orissa; on the banks of the Sanjai near Chakradharpur in Singhbhūm District, South Bihar; near the coal-fields on the Bokāro, a tributary of the Dāmodar, in Hazāribāgh District, and near Gobindpur and other places in Mānbhūm District, also in South Bihar; in the Narbādā valley in Narsinghpur District, and Saugor and Damoh Districts, Central Provinces; in South-eastern Berār; in the Sābarmatī valley in Gujarāt; in Bundelkhand, Rewah and Datīā in Central India; near Lalitpur in Jhānsi District, United Provinces; in Jaipur and Bundi in Rajputana; and in the valley of the Soān (or Sohān) in the West Punjab.²

Only some of these finds prior to 1930, important on account of their associations, may be specifically noticed here. In 1865, A.B. Wynne found at Mungi near Paighān (Hyderabad State) an agate flake in the gravel-bed of the Godāvarī, which also yielded bones of mammalia including *Elephas namadicus*, *Bos sp.* and some smaller bones and teeth.³

About the same time Foote found in the Attirampakkam nullab, a few miles to the north of Madras, a bone which might possibly be the part of a human tibia. It was found in association with a large collection

¹ See R. Bruce Foote, *The Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities, Catalogue Raisonné* (Madras, 1914); *Notes on their Ages and Distribution* (Madras, 1916).

² See Foote, *op. cit.*, J. Coggin Brown, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum* (Simla, 1917).

³ *Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, 1 (1868), pp. 65 ff.

of quartz handaxes, and as such is the only possible human bone of the Palaeolithic Age found in India.⁴

In 1873 Hackett found a handaxe at Bhutra, near Gāduarwāra, District Narshinghpur (Central Provinces), in the ossiferous gravel-bed of the Narbadā. The mammalian remains found in association assign the beds to the Middle Pleistocene Age.⁵

The Billa Surgam group of caves in Nandiāl Taluq of Kurnool District, the only fossiliferous caves known in India, was explored by Foote and his son in 1884. Here, along with a few pendants of teeth and pieces of bone, were found large numbers of fossil-bones. Though the bone 'implements,' never illustrated or properly described and subsequently lost, were supposed to be of Magdalenian type, Lydekker, who examined the fossils, held that 'the age of a considerable part of the Kurnool cave-deposits is not newer than the Pleistocene.'⁶

The proceeds of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century investigations, unsystematic and unplanned as they were, had the merit of proving in bulk the rich potentialities of palaeolithic research in India. But no attempt was made to locate the finds in their proper geological strata⁷ and to work out an undisputable type-sequence of palaeoliths. The basis of classification was sometimes the utilitarian aspect of the artifacts, without any chronological attribution; for example, Foote recognized ten main forms, viz. axes, spears, digging tools, circular implements, choppers, knives, scrapers, cores, hammer-stones and strike-a-lights(?).⁸ Brown preferred a three-fold division into *bouchers*, discoid forms and palaeoliths,⁹ the last being a most anomalous nomenclature. What is more unsatisfactory is that some writers uncritically assumed that the Indian palaeolithic sequence must necessarily have been the same as the European and applied terms like Chellean, Mousterian, Solutrean, etc., to Indian industries without waiting for the necessary geological corroboration from Indian soil.¹⁰

4 See Foote, *Notes on Ages and Distribution*, p. 8.

5 See H. B. Medlicott in *Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, VI (1873), p. 49.

6 Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 118; Lydekker in *Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, XIX (1886), pp. 120 ff.; *Palaeontologica Indica*, Series X, IV, part 2 (1886), p. 23. See also L. A. Cammiade in *Man in India*, VII (1927), pp. 1 ff.

7 An attempt was made by A. C. Logan, *Old Chipped Stones of India* (Calcutta, 1906) to classify the stone implements according to geological horizons.

8 Foote, *Notes on Age and Distribution*, p. 9n. 9 Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2

10 Cf. P. Mitra, *Prehistoric India* (Calcutta, 1927).

In 1930 L. A. Cammiade and M. C. Burkitt published the results of their study of palaeoliths recovered by the former from the exposed sections in the Kistna basin near the Nallamalāi range in Kurnool District, basing their conclusions on stratigraphy, typology and state of preservation of the implements.¹¹ Four distinct industries were recognized: (1) earliest quartzite handaxe industry; (2) flake industry, consisting of quartzite, sandstone and chalcedony flakes, mixed with much more neatly made handaxe; (3) blade and burin industry, consisting of slender blades, burins etc. of lydianite; and (4) microlithic industry of agate and quartzite of the common type.

A climatic cycle of pluvial and interpluvial phases was postulated on the basis of the data supplied by the sections, and it was also pointed out that the climatic cycle, together with the concomitant industries, had its counterpart in Africa. Thus, the earliest handaxe industry, (1) above, was associated with a Mid-Pleistocene dry phase, following a long period of pluviation, which witnessed the laterite formation of the east coast between the Kistna and the Pālār; the flake industry (2) was coeval with a second dry phase, the intervening pluvial age being responsible for the formation of detrital laterite-beds. The next two industries, (3) and (4), were associated with the third period of decreased rainfall of the Upper Pleistocene and the following dry periods.

This correlation of tool-sequence with geological and climatic phenomena was the first attempt to bring order out of chaos in the field of Indian palaeolithic studies. Soon after, in 1932, it was followed by K. R. U. Todd's study of the Bombay industries.¹² At Khāṇḍivli, 21 miles north of Bombay, he found a rostrate handaxe on the top of a gravel, laid under pluvial conditions and yielding many implements of the Chellean and Clactonian types. On the top of the gravel occurred Clactonian and Late Acheulean types of implements, including a handaxe paralleled by many examples from Madras, in addition to some flake

¹¹ L. A. Cammiade and M. C. Burkitt, 'Fresh Light on the Stone Ages in South India,' *Antiquity*, IV (1930), pp. 327 ff.; also Burkitt, Cammiade and F. J. Richards, 'Climatic Changes in South-east India during Early Pleistocene Times,' *Geological Magazine*, LXIX (1932), pp. 193 ff.

¹² K. R. U. Todd, 'Prehistoric Man Round Bombay,' *Proc. Prehist. Soc. East Anglia*, VII (Ipswich, 1932) pp. 35 ff.; 'Palaeolithic Industries of Bombay,' *Jour. Roy. Anthro. Inst. Great Britain and Ireland*, LXIX (1939), pp. 257 ff.

implements, probably of Acheulean affinity. On the top of the next upper deposit of clay appeared a flake industry including cores, blades and scrapers. The upper gravel, the next upper deposit, yielded a tooth of *Equus*, and on its top were found blades and burins. Another deposit of sterile clay and surface-accumulation brought the section to a close. Very similar discoveries at Goregāon, 3 miles south of Khandivli, confirmed this sequence. At Borivli, 2 miles north of Khandivli, only the top of the upper gravel yielded artifacts, viz. a polyhedral burin, a blade and an object like a rostracarinate. The general similarity of the Khandivli scheme with that of the Kurnool region worked out by Cammiade and Burkitt suggested the possibility of obtaining confirmatory results from a careful study of other geological sections.

In 1932 H. de Terra noticed stray palaeoliths in the course of his geological explorations in North-west India¹³ and also saw the palaeolithic collection of Todd from the Pindi Gheb region in the valley of the Soān, a tributary of the Indus in the North-west Punjab, the implementiferous character of which was noticed by D. N. Wadia in 1928.¹⁴ The possibility of geologically dating the Soān palaeoliths and of correlating the pluvial cycles of South-east India as postulated by Burkitt with the glacial cycles already known in the Himalayas, and thus providing some firm datum-lines for the study of Indian palaeolithic industries was now obvious, and this was to a very great extent achieved by an expedition jointly sponsored in 1935 by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Yale University, Cambridge University and the American Philological Society under the direction of H. de Terra in association with T. T. Paterson and P. Teilhard de Chardin.¹⁵

A geological study of the *karewas*, the local name of the low, flat mounds surrounding the hill-slopes of Kashmir and consisting of stratified deposits of silt, clay and gravel, revealed the occurrence of the first Ice Age below the lower *karewas*, which at one place (Sombur) yielded the vertebrate remains of a primitive elephant, *Elephas hysudricus*.

13 Chr. and J. Hawkes and H. de Terra, 'Palaeolithic Human Industries in the North-west Punjab and Kashmir,' *Connecticut Acad. Arts and Science*, VIII (1934), p. 1.

14 D. N. Wadia, 'The Geology of Poonch State,' *Mem. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, LI (1928), pp. 185 ff.

15 H. de Terra and T. T. Paterson, *Studies on the Ice Age in India and associated Human Cultures* (Washington, 1939).

Following the now widely accepted definition of the Pleistocene that it was characterized by the appearance of true horses, oxen and elephants, the earliest glaciation of Kashmir has been identified with the Günz glacial advance in the Alps, and the lower *karewas* ascribed to the Lower Pleistocene of the first interglacial epoch. The second glaciation (Mindel) left a deposit of stratified silt and sand, forming the upper *karewa* beds and marking the beginning of the second interglacial phase, which witnessed the first cutting of the *karewa* formations by rivers and the consequent formation of Terrace 1.

It is unnecessary for the present purpose to enter into details of Kashmir geology. It is sufficient to note that Terrace 2, marking the advance of the Mid-Pleistocene, has been ascribed to the third glacial epoch (Riss) of the Upper Pleistocene, Terrace 3 to the third interglacial, Terrace 4 to the fourth glacial (Würm), and Terrace 5, which is the lowest, to a post-Pleistocene period.

Though stone implements are practically non-existent in Kashmir, barring a few flakes found at and near Pāmpur (7 miles south-east of Srinagar), now regarded as a late industry, the scheme worked out by de Terra and his associates is of immense value for the study of the Indian palaeolithic industry, for not only has the Ice Age sequence in Kashmir been established to have been the same as that in the Alps, but all the main glacial and interglacial formations noticed in Kashmir has been identified in the implementiferous sections of the non-glaciated Siwālik series of Himalayan foothills, extending from the Bannu plain in the west to the Brahmaputra valley in the east and known to be rich in fossil-mammals.

The high plains of Potwar, lying to the south of the Himalayan foothills and watered by the Indus, Soān and Jhelum, were the focus of the Siwālik exploration of the de Terra expedition.¹⁶ The Pliocene formations of the Siwāliks in this area, as revealed by the sections cut by the rivers, consist of (a) the Lower Siwāliks, represented by (i) the Murree series and the Kamliāl zone and (ii) the Chinji zone; and (b) the Middle Siwāliks, represented by (i) the Nāgri zone and (ii) the Dhok Pathān zone, the latter with a typical Pontian fauna, including an abundance of the Hipparion or the Pliocene horse. A sedimentary break, indicating a period of erosion, and coinciding with a distinct change in

¹⁶ De Terra and Paterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 252 ff.

the fauna, occurs between the Middle and Upper Siwāliks, and at this level has been drawn the Plio-Pleistocene boundary.

The Upper Siwāliks, of Pleistocene formation, are represented by (a) the Tattot zone, belonging to the first glacial epoch and, consistently with this, with very few fossils, and (b) the Pinjor zone of the first interglacial epoch, with rich fossil-remains, including *Elephas hysudricus*, which chronologically equates the zone with the lower *karewa* series of Kashmir. Both the zones, on geological and faunal grounds, belong to the Lower Pleistocene.

The second glacial epoch, of the Middle Pleistocene, is represented by (c) the boulder-conglomerate stage, when, under violent pluvial conditions, enormous boulders were deposited in the foothills and plains. The merging of the Siwālik boulder-conglomerate with the second glacial moraine by the Tāwi river in Jammu and at Pūnch on the Jhelum, noticed respectively by de Terra and Paterson, completes the chronological correlation between the Upper Siwāliks and the glacial tracts of Kashmir.

The pluvial conditions responsible for the formation of the boulder-conglomerate was not favourable for animal-life and the skeletal remains in the zone are consequently poor. Significant among them, however, is the occurrence of *Elephas namadicus*, also present in the Mid-Pleistocene deposits in the Narbadā valley (see below).

The second interglacial period is represented in the Upper Siwāliks by Terrace 1, formed by an erosion of the boulder-conglomerate and marking the end of the Mid-Pleistocene. The later history here, as in Kashmir, is divided into two more glacial (third and fourth) and one more interglacial (third) periods, represented by Terraces 2 to 4, all of the Upper Pleistocene, and the aggradational Terrace 5 of the Holocene.

Against this geological background are to be viewed the implements left by the palaeolithic man in the Potwar region. The earliest group of implements, found near the top of the boulder-conglomerate of the second glacial epoch, consists of large flakes derived from crude split pebbles, with an unflaked upper surface, except for occasional marginal scars, and with battered edges. The industry recalls the Cromerian¹⁷

¹⁷ This and other similar terms as Acheulean, Abbévillean etc., used in connexion with Indian palaeoliths, are intended only to denote the types which they represent and are devoid of the chronological definitions with which they are associated in Europe.

of England and has been styled 'Pre-Soān,' as it has nothing in common with the subsequent industries of the Soān region.

The Early Soān industry, mainly associated with the second interglacial Terrace 1, consists of flakes and pebble implements, divided into three groups on grounds of patination and state of wear, group B somewhat resembling the Early Clactonian of Europe and group C the Clactonian and Early Levalloisean.

To Terrace 1 also belongs a handaxe industry of a different tradition, but similar to the Chelleo-Acheulean industries of Europe and, nearer home, to the typical Madras industry. Its association with the Early Soān flake industry is likely to prove of great chronological significance to the palaeolithic industries of Central and South India.

The Late Soān industry, essentially a flake industry, is related to Terrace 2 of the third glacial epoch. It is divided into two groups, A and B, based on stratigraphy, A being from the Potwar basal gravel and B from the overlying loess. The continued use of pebbles as implement-material and the persistence of the Clactonian-Levalloisean technique show the family-affinity of the industry with the Early Soān. The intrusive 'Madras' handaxe is absent.

The Evolved Soān, of Terrace 4 of the fourth glacial epoch, is again a pebble and flake industry, reminiscent of the Late Soān A.

The Narbadā valley between Hoshangābād and Narsinghpur was next explored by de Terra.¹⁸ Here the terraces are not as clear as in the Soān valley. The alluvium of the valley is formed of three sedimentation cycles underlying a laterite-bed, (1) the lower group, (2) the upper group, the two together making up the old alluvium and (3) the cotton-soil of the new alluvium. The first two each consist of a basal gravel and an overlying pink clay deposit. The basal gravel of the lower group yielded fossil remains of *Hexaprotodon namadicus* and *Bos sp.*, while that of the upper group those of *Bos namadicus*, *Elephas namadicus*, *Equus namadicus*, *Hexaprotodon namadicus*, *Bubalus palaeindicus*, *Sus sp.*, *Trionyx sp.* and *Emys sp.* The upper group therefore bears a Mid-Pleistocene fauna, younger than the Pinjor fauna of the Siwālik region.

From the basal gravel-conglomerate of the lower group, equated to Terrace 1 of Potwar, were found large flakes, resembling the Pre-Soān

¹⁸ De Terra and Paterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 313 ff.

industry of the boulder conglomerate zone of Potwar, handaxes of the Abbévillean and Early and Middle Acheulean types and cores of the Early Soān types. From the next upper deposit, i.e. the pink clay of the lower group, corresponding to Terrace 2, were collected several unrolled flakes and a fresh Acheulean handaxe. Taken together, the two deposits of the lower group exhibit the same industries as Terraces 1 and 2 of the North-west.

The basal gravel and pink clay of the upper group, respectively corresponding to Terraces 3 and 4 of the Potwar region, both contain rolled flakes and cores, predominantly of the Late Soān type. The former has in addition some Acheulean handaxes; being rolled, they should be taken as redeposited from the lower group.

The cotton-soil of the new alluvium, equated to Terrace 5, is characterized by a microlithic flake industry, consisting of small blades and scrapers of flint and jasper, and indicating a total break from the earlier tradition.

In South India the cycle of pluvial and dry phases noticed by Cammiade and Burkitt (see above) assumes a new significance in the light of the glacial and interglacial cycle established in the North by de Terra. A further parallelism is revealed by the recognition of four terraces (respectively called Terrace Detrital and Terraces 1, 2 and 3) in the Korttalayār valley in Chingleput District. The first terrace was formed by the detrital laterite overlying a boulder-conglomerate, probably belonging to the Mid-Pleistocene, and the next three terraces by erosion and cutting.¹⁹

In the Korttalayār valley, the Vaḍamadurai region has yielded palaeoliths of three groups: the earliest, pre-laterite and contemporary with the boulder-conglomerate, resembles the Early Acheulean type; the second, contemporary with the laterite deposit, consists of handaxes of the Mid-Acheulean type; and the third, belonging to Terrace 1, comprises handaxes of the Late Acheulean type. At Attirampakkam, in the basal laterite gravels of Terrace 2, occur tools of the third group in large numbers.

These, in main outline, are the results of the Yale-Cambridge expedition of 1935. By equating the palaeolithic industries of the North-west with Himalayan glacial cycles and by roughly correlating them²⁰ with the

19 De Terra and Paterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 327 ff.

20 See V. D. Krishnaswami, 'Stone Age India,' *Ancient India*, No. 3 (1947).

Prehistoric Exploration in India

Central and South Indian industries, it has worked out a pattern of palaeolithic sequence interlaced with geological formations and climatic oscillations. It is a warning against an indiscriminate collecting spirit, which divorces the relics of the earliest human endeavour from their natural context.

In 1940 the University of Calcutta explored the laterite-beds near Kuliāna in Mayūrbhanj State, following the discovery of some palaeoliths in the course of the digging of a tank. The finds consist of quartzite pebble tools, handaxes and flakes.²¹

In 1942 the Archaeological Survey of India organized an expedition, consisting of H. D. Sankalia, V. D. Krishnaswami and B. K. Chatterjee, for exploration in Baroda State, one of the main purposes being 'to investigate the problem of the hiatus between the Palæolithic and the Neolithic Ages as set forth by Foote.' The expedition²² worked in the Sābarmatī valley and near Bahādurpur in the Orsāng valley and found in the Mid-Pleistocene laterized pebble-gravels an abundance of pebble-implements of the Early Soān type and handaxes of Abbévillean-Acheulean and Late Acheulian types. According to Krishnaswami, this area seems to be the meeting ground of the Soān and Madras industries, as pebble choppers of the Soān type are much more abundant here than in the South.²³

In 1942-43 R. G. Gyani found some pebble tools, handaxes and flakes in the valley of the Karjan, three miles to the south of Rājpipla in Gujarat at the junction of the gravel-bed and the overlying alluvial deposit which comprise the river-section. According to Sankalia, the Karjan industry corroborates the conclusions arrived at by him 'from the study of the Sābarmatī and Orsāng industries, viz. that a mixed, an Early Acheulean and Late Acheulean type of industry, is found at the junction of the gravel and fine silt' and 'provides additional links in its triangular cleavers with Late Acheulean South Indian industries.'²⁴

plate II. I am thankful to Mr. Krishnaswami for having gone through this article in manuscript.

²¹ *Jour. Roy. Asi. Soc. Beng.*, X (1944), p. 97.

²² H. D. Sankalia, *Investigations into Prehistoric Archaeology of Gujarat* (Baroda 1946).

²³ Krishnaswami, *op. cit.* p. 32.

²⁴ Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

B. *The Microlithic Industries*

Microliths, or 'pygmy flakes,'²⁵ usually of chert and semi-precious stones as agate, chalcedony and jasper, are found in many places, mainly in Central and South India. The older collections include those from Kurnool, Bellary, Anantpur and Tinnevely Districts of Madras by Foote; more than one hundred places in the lower Godāvāri valley by Cammiade; Hyderabad State by Foote; Chāibāsā, Chakradharpur and Ghāṣilā and other places in Singhbūm District, South Bihar, by Beeching, Murray, Anderson and Mitra; Serāikela State, Orissa, by Mitra; Rānchi District by Driver; the Kaimūr Range, Central India, by Cockburn and Carlleyle; Sohāgi Ghāt on the northern scarp of the Vindhya, 30 miles south-south-west of Allahabad, caves and rock-shelters in the Vindhya, northern parts of Rewah State, the low grounds of Bundelkhand and Rajputana by Carlleyle; Jubbulpore District by Swiney, Rivett Carnac, Olphert, Gates and Abbot; at Khandivli and Marva near Bombay by Todd; and Sukkur and Rohri in Sind by Blanford.²⁶

The Sind microliths are longer and more regular in shape, being usually trapezoid in section, than the rest; these features mark them off as distinct industry and affiliate them with the chert flakes of the (probably later) Harappā civilization. An accurate geological dating for this culture is impossible in the absence of stratified deposits; but de Terra ascribes them to a period of greater rainfall, to which, incidentally, the Harappā culture also belongs.²⁷ With this exception, the microliths

25 The term 'pygmy' is now falling into disuse and should be discouraged because of its probable association with a supposed pygmy race.

26 Foote, *Notes on Ages and Distribution*; Brown, *op. cit.*; Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 186 ff. For other Godāvāri finds, see Cammiade in *Man in India*, IV (1924), pp. 83 ff.; for Singhbūm, *Proc. Asi. Soc. Beng.* 1865, p. 127, *Jour. B. & O. Res. Soc.*, III (1917), pp. 349 ff., *An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1928-29, p. 130. and *Jour. Roy. Asi. Soc. Beng.*, VI (1940), pp. 79 ff.; for Kaimūr Range, *Jour. Roy. Asi. Soc.*, 1899, p. 93; for Jubbulpore, *Proc. Asi. Soc. Beng.*, 1865, pp. 77 ff. and 1866, pp. 230 ff. Carlleyle's finds have been noticed in *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, VI (Calcutta, 1878), pp. 107, 108 and 161 and by V. A. Smith in *Ind. Ant.* XXXV (1906), pp. 185 ff. Mention has also been made above of the existence of a microlithic industry in the Kistna basin.

27 De Terra and Paterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-4. The analogies of the Harappā culture with other cultures, especially the foreign ones, have been and are being studied in minute details by competent scholars, but this important archaeological fact, namely the similarity of the Harappā flakes and the Sukkur-Rohri flakes, which *might* indicate the possibility of the Harappā culture having ultimately

form a monotonous series of blades, burins, crescents, triangles, cones and arrow-heads (?), of triangular, trapezoid or rhomboid section, or irregular cores; but it is not impossible that a careful study on a regional basis may reveal minute local differentiae in shapes and technique of flaking.

Of these finds some of the more significant ones may be noticed in detail. Opposite Sadolia on the Sābarmatī in Baroda State, Foote noticed typical 'flake knives and wedges,' which he regarded as 'the earliest traces of the advent of the neolithic people,' separated from 'typical palaeoliths' by a deposit 150 to 200 feet thick. This led him to conclude that there had been a large hiatus between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic Ages.²⁸

At Mahurī in Vijāpur Taluq, Baroda State, Foote mentions the discovery of 'a small thick disc of pale drab quartzite, ground smooth,' evidently a neolith, along with 'nice scraper flakes of coloured chert'²⁹ which may indicate the co-occurrence of neoliths and microliths. But the account is too confused to be relied upon.

In a similarly confused account Foote mentions the discovery of small 'cores of chert' in several pottery bowls, some others of which contained iron arrow-heads, on a site at Pātpād in Kurnool District, which yielded stray microliths as well.³⁰ It is obviously unsafe to conclude anything about the date of the microliths from such incomplete records.

Carllylle, in his notes on the microlith-yielding caves and rock-shelters in the Central Indian plateau, states that 'at the very bottom, or in the lowest stratum of the soil in the floors of such caves in which the soil was of considerable depth, the implements were always found to be of an older and more archaic type than the rest. At a medium depth, undisturbed layers of embers and charcoal (that is, of hearths) were fre-

originated, by evolution and impact of foreign contact, from an indigenous Stone Age source, has not been, so far as I am aware, commented upon by anybody but de Terra, who observes: 'In view of the uncertain origin of the lower Indus Valley civilization it seems that the presence of such proto-neolithic settlements on higher level might lead to a new approach to Indian archaeology, which so far has been inclined to stress the foreign derivation of Indian civilization. The Stone Age sites of Sukkur and Rohri may well represent an indigenous culture from which a more or less continuous evolution may have led to the first Indian urban civilization. Its history will be found to have been dictated as much by the changes of river level, as was the case with the predynastic cultures of lower Egypt.'

²⁸ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

quently found.' He also mentions the find of pieces of iron oxide and some fragments of rude pottery.³¹

These associations were not helpful in placing the microliths in their proper chronological position, and microliths continued to be regarded as neolithic or, following their stratigraphic position in Europe, as proto-neolithic or mesolithic (Capsian or Tardenoisian),³² or even as 'the last effort of the expiring palaeolithic man.'³³

De Terra's expedition did not yield much indisputable evidence for dating microliths.³⁴ At Pāmpur (see above) and Sombur (4 miles south of Pāmpur, he found a flake industry (in the latter place associated with pottery), but in no case was any dating possible. Microliths of flint or brown jasper were also excavated from the upper loessic deposits near Uchhālī, west of Naushahra (Shāhpur District), along with skeletal remains of *Homo sapiens* of dolichocephalic type and hand-made pottery, believed to be neolithic. In the Narbadā valley, at Janakpur and Jhānsi Ghāt, he found in the cotton soil of the new alluvium a flake industry consisting of small blades and scrapers, which, according to him, represent a proto-neolithic or later industry probably flourishing in relatively recent times.

In 1932-4, G. R. Hunter excavated a rock-shelter known as Dorothy Deep in the Mahādeo Hill near Pachmarhi, District Hoshangābād, a spur of the Satpurā Range, which has a very large number of such shelters, caused by the action of rain-water wearing out the soft sandstone. Some of them contain rude painting on the rock-surface and microliths in the floor-deposits; the two, however, do not necessarily go side by side. Some open fields at Pachmarhi are also found strewn with microliths in very large numbers. Hunter found potsherds up to a depth of 6 inches from the surface, and a skeleton and microliths a foot deeper. Hunter's

³¹ V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*

³² P. Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 180 ff.

³³ V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 193. V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (London, 1934), p. 34, observes: 'The term mesolithic, justified in certain areas such as western Europe by the occurrence of similar assemblages of microlithic flints in strata intermediate between the normal palaeolithic and the normal neolithic or copper age, must be used with caution. It must not be assumed that because some industries in North Africa, Palestine, or Kenya are designated mesolithic they are really any older than advanced cultures, neolithic or even metal-using, in Egypt or Mesopotamia.'

³⁴ De Terra and Paterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 233, 277, 320, 323 and 325.

conclusion was that the authors of the microliths lived in the Mesolithic Age.³⁵

In the same year D. H. Gordon began his exploration of the rock-paintings near Pachmarhi and elsewhere. He concluded that their dates extended over a period of 1500 years ending with the tenth century A.D. and suggested that the microliths were coeval with the early paintings, adding that 'in such wild and primitive parts it is not surprising that the microlithic culture, the earliest dating for which at the present state of our knowledge it is idle to conjecture, should have persisted into the earliest centuries of our own era.'³⁶

The work of Hunter and Gordon emphasized the need for further exploration, and in 1940 the writer, at the instance of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, undertook a preliminary exploration of the region, the aim being to obtain a first-hand impression of the available material.³⁷ Besides the survey of rock-painting in the region, the floor-deposits of a rock-shelter near the bazar of Pachmarhi (called the Bazar Shelter by Gordon) and a recently discovered cave, locally called Baniā Beri, 4 miles to the east of Pachmarhi, were partially explored. In addition to a very large number of microliths of the usual shapes,³⁸ the materials being, in order of frequency, chert, chalcedony, agate, glassy quartz, carnelian and siliceous slate, the only other proceeds of the excavations were a few coarse sherds of hand-made pots, too fragmentary for any shape to be recognized, a bit of faïence (depth 6 inches below surface), a fragmentary carved soapstone (depth 9 inches) and a fragmentary glass bangle (depth 1 foot 8 inches) from the Bazar Shelter, and two sandstone rings (from within 1 foot from the surface) from Baniā Beri. The bed-rock was nowhere more than 3 to 4 feet below the surface, and within

35 *Nagpur Univ. Jour.*, No. 1 (1935), pp. 28 ff.; No. 2 (1936), pp. 127 ff.

36 *Ipek*, I Band (1935), p. 113. Elsewhere Gordon remarks: 'Recent researches tend to indicate that a late dating must be accepted for a large amount of the microlithic material discovered in India,' 'The Date of the Singhanpur Rock-paintings,' *Science and Culture*, V (1939), p. 147. See also his 'The Rock-painting at Kabra Pahar, Raigarh State,' *ibid.*, V (1939), pp. 269 ff.; 'The Artistic Sequence of the Rock-painting of the Mahadeo Hills,' *ibid.*, V (1939), pp. 322 ff.; and 'Warfare in Indian Cave-art,' *ibid.*, V (1940), pp. 578 ff.

37 The report of the exploration has not been published.

38 An idea of the quantity of microliths that can be collected from this region may be obtained from the fact that at one place over 1300 pieces, including flakes, cores and 'rejects,' were recorded from amidst 64 cubic feet of excavated soil.

this limit no change in the frequency of the material and in the technique of flaking of the microliths was noticed. Though no dating of the microliths was possible, the associated finds did not favour a very high dating.

The Gujarat expedition of 1941, generally following the track of Foote, found a large number of microlithic sites in Baroda State, two of which, Hirpurā and Langhnāj, were partially excavated. Besides microliths were found some potsherds of red and black ware of non-distinctive character and a large number of bone-splinters almost all fossilized, regarded by Sankalia as tools. In his subsequent excavations at Langhnāj, Sankalia found skeletal remains of large animals and human beings of the dolichocephalic type.³⁹

At Chandravalli and Brahmagiri in the north-eastern outskirts of Chitaldrug District, Mysore State, the latter already famous on account of the existence of a set of rock-edicts of Aśoka, M. H. Krishna's excavations in the thirties indicated the probability of obtaining a sequence-dating of the microliths. His tentative conclusions were that an Iron Age culture, characterized by white-lined painted pottery, succeeded and partly overlapped a neolithic culture with black polished pottery-types, which was in turn preceded by a microlithic culture of Mesolithic Age.⁴⁰ The sequence found here seemed to him to be the same as that observed at Māski in Hyderabad State by Yazdani and Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad.⁴¹

The excavation of 1947 at Brahmagiri by the Archaeological Survey of India, in collaboration with the Archaeological Department of Mysore State, carried out under closely-observed conditions, has established for the first time a sure culture-sequence in the Deccan. The results will be referred to again but it may be mentioned here that below the Sātavāhana level of the first century A.D. occurred

39 H. D. Sankalia, *op. cit.*; also *New Ind. Ant.*, VII (1944); and *Preliminary Report of the Third Gujarat Prehistoric Expedition* (Bombay, 1945).

40 M. H. Krishna, 'Prehistoric Deccan,' Presidential Address, Anthropology Section, *Proceedings of the Twentieth Indian Science Congress*, II (Baroda, 1942), pp. 231 ff.

41 *Annual Report, Archaeological Department, H.E.H. Nizam's Dominions*, 1935-36, pp. 24 and 28 ff.; 1936-37, pp. 14 ff. The results are not clear but Yazdani regards the black and red funereal pottery, stone implements and chert flakes as belonging to 1000 B.C. or earlier. The evidence has been criticized by D. H. and M. E. Gordon in *J.R.A.S. Beng.*, IX (1943), pp. 87 ff. For the recent discovery of microliths near Bangalore, see *Man*, 1948, no. 27.

a level contemporary with the megalithic cists and pit-circles; below this was a neolithic level, in which polished stone axes, pounders and discs, mixed with microliths, occurred freely, in association with a pottery dull grey in colour and coarse and micaceous in texture. The use of copper and bronze in this period to a limited extent is attested by a copper chisel and two thin rods, one of copper and one of bronze. This culture was also characterized by urn-burials for young children and by inhumation-burials for adults. It was overlapped in its last phase and ultimately supplanted by a totally different iron-using megalithic culture approximately in the third century B.C.

The new evidence shows that at least in this part of the Deccan the microlithic industry was coeval with a pre-Iron Age when neolithic implements were in vogue but the use of copper, and occasionally bronze, had begun.⁴² Whether it had an earlier career and survived till later times in other parts of the country still remains to be seen.

C. *The Neolithic Age*

The first find of Indian neoliths is slightly older than that of palaeoliths. In 1860 le Mesurier found some neoliths in the valley of the East Tons in the southern United Provinces, and two years later Theobald made a collection from Bāndā District in the same region. Next year Foote made his first discovery in Satyavedu Taluq in Chingleput District and followed it up in subsequent years by discoveries in Tinnevely, Malābār, Trichinopoly, North Arcot, Bellary, Anantpur, Kurnool and Guntūr Districts of Madras; Hyderabad State; Mysore State; and Bijāpur and Belgāum District of Bombay. Neoliths were collected from Bellary District also by Gompertz, Frazer, Middlemiss and Cardew; from North Arcot by Tucker; and from Coorg by Mangles.⁴³

In North India, besides le Mesurier's and Theobald's finds from the Tons valley and Bāndā District, more neoliths were found in the Bāndā District by Cockburn, Seton-Karr, Rivett-Carnac and Cunningham; in Mirzāpur District (United Provinces) by Rivett-Carnac and Cunningham; at Mohobā and other places in Chhatarpur State (Central India)

⁴² The report of the excavation will be published in *Ancient India*, No. 4.

⁴³ Foote *op. cit.*; Coggin Brown, *op. cit.* Wauchope collected neoliths from the Tungabhadra valley, from beyond the southern limits of Hyderabad and from Salem, Arcot, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantpur Districts of Madras. See *An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1930-4, II, pp. 258-9.

and in Saugor and Jubbulpore Districts (Central Provinces) by Cunningham; in Rānchi and Sighbhūm Districts (South Bihar) by Driver, Anderson and Murray; and in Darrang, Lakhimpur, Sibsāgar, Cāchār and Khāsi Hills Districts (Assam) by Penny, Healy, Hannay, Peal, Townsend-Smith and Cockburn.⁴⁴

Some caution is necessary in accepting the previous collections in their entirety as genuinely neolithic. Though grinding and polish in stone objects, in addition to some typical tool-forms such as celts, regarded as the 'type-fossil' of the Neolithic Age, are regarded as the distinguishing features of neolithic objects, it is to be borne in mind that household stone objects continued to be in extensive use in India in the later periods as well, as they are even now; for this reason, not all the objects belonging to the forty categories into which Foote divides his ground or carved, and ground and polished objects,⁴⁵ which include mealng stones (querns), mortars, pestles etc., need necessarily be actually neolithic, unless they are proved to be such on other grounds.⁴⁶ The same remark applies to some stone human and animal figurines and *phalli*, ascribed by Foote to a pre-metal age. Mention should also be made of the discovery of typical neolithic celts in the excavations at Bhiṭā (District Allahabad),⁴⁷ Rājgir and Nālandā (District Patna)⁴⁸ and Taxila in strata pertaining to the historical period.

The extensive find of pottery in many neolithic sites, particularly in South India, leaves no doubt that the manufacture of pottery was a regular industry in the Neolithic Age; it may be added that there is no sure evidence of the use of pottery prior to that. Foote's statement that the neolithic pottery was dull-coloured and rough-surfaced⁴⁹ is an unsubstantiated generalization, though it has been corroborated to some extent by

44 See Coggin Brown, *op. cit.*; P. Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 229 ff. For Cockburn's Bundelkhand finds see *Ind. Ant.* XXXV (1906), p. 186; for Singhbhūm finds, *Jour. B. & O. Res. Soc.*, III (1917), pp. 349 ff. and *J.R.A.S. Beng.*, VI (1940), pp. 79 ff. There are additional specimens of neolithic celts from Santal Parganas (Bihar) and Darjeeling (Bengal) in the Patna Museum.

45 Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

46 A similar check is necessary before the megaliths and 'cinder mounds' of Bellary are ascribed to the Neolithic Age (*ibid.*, pp. 5, 79 and 93).

47 *An. Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind.*, 1911-2, pp. 35 and 89.

48 Specimens in the Archæological Museum at Nālandā, District Patna. The Patna Museum contains a celt from Kauśāmbi (District Allahabad).

49 Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

the recent Brahmagiri excavation, the conclusions of which should at present be applied only to the Central Deccan.

Excavation at Burzahom, between Śrinagar and Gandarbal, in Kashmir by the de Terra expedition revealed important evidence regarding the Neolithic Age. Excavation in the 12 feet of accumulation between the surface and the natural soil exposed remains of three cultures, the latest of which consisted of pottery probably of the fourth century A.D. and the second of a highly polished black-ware potsherds with incised geometric designs, recalling the Jhāngar culture, a post-Harappā culture of Sind.⁵⁰ Below these, in a post-glacial loess, occurred remains of a neolithic settlement, consisting of polished celts, bone awls, pottery cooking-vessels and bits of charcoal. In the loess-deposit of the same epoch at Nunar near Gandarbal a similar kitchen was found. Though these neolithic sites appear to be contemporary with the soil-formation, 'it is hardly possible to make a reliable guess at the age of this loess culture.'⁵¹

The recent neolithic discoveries at Māsiki and Brahmagiri have been mentioned above. While much reliance cannot be placed on the Māsiki evidence, at Brahmagiri we encounter the neolithic culture at its last stage, when copper and bronze had already made their intrusion and iron was shortly to oust it. Within the chronological limits fixed on the one hand by the age of the post-glacial Kashmir loess when the earliest known neoliths made their appearance, and on the other the third century B.C., when they vanished in the Central Deccan before an Iron-Age megalithic culture, and within the vast expanse of the country between Kashmir and the South, the neolithic culture must inevitably have passed through a considerable number of phases about which nothing is known at present and which it is the task of the future explorer to unravel.

A. GHOSH

⁵⁰ N. G. Majumdar, 'Explorations in Sind,' *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, No. 48 (Delhi, 1934).

⁵¹ De Terra and Paterson, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Śrī Caitanya*

23. *The Nature of the Sakḥis*

The Gopīs committed breaches of religious injunctions relating to this and the other world recklessly to please Kṛṣṇa (L, 10, śl. 36; C, II, 1, 14). Their love for Kṛṣṇa was of great impetuosity. They could easily sacrifice everything for the sake of the object of their devotion.

Such love has been termed pure, as it contains no trace of selfishness. The only aim of these Gopīs is to be instrumental in bringing happiness and satisfaction to him. The difference between *Kāma* (gross pleasure) and *prema* (pure love) is as great as that between iron and gold.

आत्मेन्द्रिय-प्रीति वाञ्छा तारे वलि काम ।

कृष्णेन्द्रिय-प्रीति इच्छा धरे प्रेम नाम ॥

(C, I, 4, 101)

(*Kāma* is desire for the satisfaction of one's own senses while *prema* is desire for the satisfaction of Kṛṣṇa's senses).

अतएव काम प्रेम बहुत अन्तर ।

काम अन्ध तमः प्रेम निर्मल भास्कर ॥

अतएव गोपीगणो नाहि काम गन्ध ।

कृष्णसुख लागि मात्र कृष्णे से सम्बन्ध ॥

आत्मसुख दुःखे गोपीर नाहिक विकार !

कृष्ण सुख हेतु चेष्टा मनो व्यवहार ॥

कृष्ण लागि आर सव करि परित्याग ।

कृष्ण सुख हेतु करे शुद्ध अनुराग ॥

(C, I, 4, 102-104)

(So, there is a good deal of difference between *kāma* and *prema*. The former is blinding darkness, while the latter is the shining sun. Hence, there is no trace of *kāma* in the minds of the Gopīs. Their relation to Kṛṣṇa is only for his happiness. They are indifferent to their own pleasure and pain. Their mental exertions and physical actions are all for promoting Kṛṣṇa's happiness. Having renounced everything in this world, they entertain in their hearts pure love for Kṛṣṇa.)

As the Gopīs want always to keep Kṛṣṇa happy, they assist in bringing about reunions for *līlā* between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Thus they derived many times more satisfaction than they could have done by their own association with Kṛṣṇa. Of course, this nature of the Gopīs is also found in Rādhā. She sends Kṛṣṇa to the Gopīs on various pretexts and feels very happy for offering them these opportunities of mixing with Kṛṣṇa.

(C, II, 8, 236, 237)

सखीर स्वभाव एक अकथ्य कथन ।
 कृष्ण सह निज लीलाय नाहि सखीर मन ॥
 कृष्ण सह राधिकार लीला ये कराय ।
 निज केलि हैते ताहे कोटि सुख पाय ॥

(C, II, 8, 236)

(To describe the nature of *Sakhīs* is to try to speak of the unspeakable. They do not care for their own *līlā* with Kṛṣṇa but they try to bring about the association of Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa, and derive from it a bliss which is ten million times deeper than what they could have enjoyed from their own association with him.)

यद्यपि सखीर कृष्ण सङ्गसे नाहि मन ।
 तथापि राधिका यत्ने करान सङ्गम ॥
 नाना छले कृष्णे प्रेरि सङ्गम कराय ।
 आत्म-कृष्ण-सङ्ग हैते कोटि सुख पाय ॥

(C, II, 8, 237)

(Though the Gopīs do not care for their own association with Kṛṣṇa, yet Rādhikā brings that about carefully. She sends Kṛṣṇa in company with the Gopīs on various pretexts and derives thereby a pleasure ten million times more than her own with Kṛṣṇa.)

It has been several times pointed out by the author of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* that the love of the Gopīs must not be looked upon as gross. There is no precious article on the earth which the Gopīs cannot give up for Kṛṣṇa.

Duties in conformity with public opinion, religious duties under the Vedas, duties regarding their own physique, secular duties, bashfulness, patience, physical comfort, mental happiness, devotion to husband, and remonstrances from relations, neighbours, and friends were counted as trivial in the pursuit of their aim of expressing devotion to and rendering service of love to Kṛṣṇa.

निजेन्द्रिय-सुख हेतु कामेर तात्पर्य ।
 कृष्ण सुखेर तात्पर्य गोपोभाव वर्त्य ॥
 निजेन्द्रिय सुख वाञ्छा नाहि गोपिकार ।
 कृष्णे सुख दिते करे सन्नम-विहार ॥

(C, II, 8, 239)

(The object underlying *kāma* is to conduce to the pleasure of one's own senses, while the supreme sentiment of the Gopīs is to promote only the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa. The Gopīs have no selfish sensual craving, but participate in amorous activities only to make Kṛṣṇa happy.)

A Gopī's care for her own person is for pleasing Kṛṣṇa, and she cleans and adorns herself for the same purpose.

कृष्णेर सहाय, गुरु, बान्धव, प्रेयसी ।
 गोपिका ह्येन प्रिया, शिष्या, सखी, दासी ॥
 गोपिका जानेन कृष्णेर मनेर वाञ्छित ।
 प्रेमसेवा परिपाटि इष्ट समीहित ॥

[A Gopī is Kṛṣṇa's helper, *guru* (preceptor), friend, and beloved; she is also his favourite, disciple, companion, and minion. She can read his inner feelings and express her devotion through meticulous care in her service of love to him.]

(C, I, 4, 114, 115)

The nature of the Gopīs is to serve Kṛṣṇa, forgetting and sacrificing everything else in this world. A devotee, who is attracted by this sentiment, can obtain the highest spiritual perfection by service to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa through the form of *bhakti* called *rāgānugā* (the path of deep love) to the exclusion of the Vedic *dharma* or *path of regulations* as prescribed by the Vedas.

(C, II, 8, 239)

The kind of devotion called *rāgānugā* has been explained later.

Should any devotee intend to take to the line of *sādhana*, through *parakīyā* sentiment, he has to enter Vraja in a fitting spiritual body and try to have communion with Kṛṣṇa (C, II, 8, 240).

It has been even stated that at Vraja, the devotee who wants to resort to *madhura rasa* as the means cannot come into communion with Śrī Kṛṣṇa without the relinquishment of the path of Vedic regulations, placing himself in his adopted spiritual counterpart as a Gopī at Vraja

under a Sakhī (in the manner to be explained later) who guides the activities of the spiritual counterpart under the *parakiyā* sentiment expressed in her. The Vedas and Upaniṣads in the forms of Gopīs at Vraja are said to have taken to this mode of *sādhana* at Vraja because of its efficacy, and meditating day and night on the *tilā* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa relinquishing the path of their own regulations, as this is the surest and the sweetest road to communion with Kṛṣṇa. Even Lakṣmī herself could not have the good luck of communion with Kṛṣṇa the *svarūpa brahman* in human form at Vraja because she could not adopt the path of *sādhana* through the *parakiyā* sentiment of a Gopī. (C, II, 8, 244; II, 9, 272) .

24. Śrī Caitanya: His Appearance on the Earth

It is the belief of Vaiṣṇavas that Kṛṣṇa appeared as Śrī Caitanya on this earth in the Kali Age (commencing from the time of Parikṣita after the battle of Kurukṣetra described in the *Mahābhārata*). To them, Śrī Caitanya is Bhagavān himself in all his fullness.

एइ मत चैतन्य-कृष्ण पूर्ण भगवान् ।

युगधर्म-प्रवर्तन नहे तौर काम ॥

(C, I, 4, 75)

[Thus Caitanya is Kṛṣṇa i.e. Bhagavān in all his fullness. It is not his mission to introduce the *dharma* appropriate for a new *yoga* (time-cycle)].

नन्द सुत बलि यारे भागवते गाइ ।

सेइ कृष्ण अवतोरण चैतन्य गौँसाजि ॥

(C, I, 2, 31)

(One whose praises are sung in the *Bhāgavata* as Kṛṣṇa, the son of Nanda has descended on the earth as Caitanya Gosāñi.)

सेइ त गोविन्द साक्षात् चैतन्य गौँसाजि ।

जीव निस्तरिते ऐछे दयालु आर नाइ ॥

(C, I, 2, 34)

(Caitanya Gosāñi is Govinda himself. There is no other person more merciful for the deliverance of all creatures.)

सेइ कृष्ण अवतारी ब्रजेन्द्र कुमार ।

आपनि चैतन्यरूपे कैल अवतार ॥

(C, I, 2, 47)

[That Kṛṣṇa, who is the son of the chief of Vraja, and is Avatārin (the source of *Avatāras* or incarnations) himself, has come down in flesh and blood in the form of Caitanya.]]

भागवत भारत शास्त्र आगम पुराण ।

चैतन्य कृष्ण-अवतार प्रकट प्रमाण ॥

(C, I, 3, 64)

(The *Bhāgavata*, *Mahābhārata*, *Sāstras*, *Tantras*, and *Purāṇas* expressly testify to the Caitanya being Kṛṣṇa descended on the earth.)

It is laid down in the *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta* that there were two reasons for the appearance of Kṛṣṇa as Caitanya viz. (1) for tasting the nature and depth of Rādhā's love for Kṛṣṇa by mental transformation of himself into Rādhā pining for Kṛṣṇa. (2) Promulgation of details about the path of *bhakti* (devotion) through the various sentiments.

प्रेम रस निर्यास करिते आखादन ।

रागमार्ग-भक्ति लोके करिते प्रचारण ॥

(C, I, 4, 70)

(To taste the essence of the devotional sentiments and preach the cult of *bhakti* through the utilization of the sentiments in this world).

The sentiments under *Bhakti* have been dealt with previously, Śrī Caitanya came to this earth for making known to the people the *dharma* of devotion (*bhakti*), which harbours the five *rasas*,—*śānta*, *dāsyā*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya*, and *madhura*.

दुइ हेतु अवतरि लवा भक्तगण ।

आपने आखादे प्रेम नाम संकीर्तन ॥

सेइ द्वारे आचण्डाले कीर्तन सञ्चारे ।

नाम-प्रेम माला गोंधि पराइल संसारे ॥

एइ मत भक्तभाव करि अङ्गीकार ।

आपनि आचरि भक्ति करिल प्रचार ॥

(C, I, 4, 75)

[Having appeared on the earth with his own devotees for two reasons, he tasted the sweetness of the sentiments, the repetition of the name of Kṛṣṇa, and the community singing (*saṁkīrtana*) of the name, activities, and achievements of Kṛṣṇa. Through these means he inspired the people from the highest to the lowest with enthusiasm for *Kīrtana* and put the garland of name and love round their necks. Thus he demonstrated

through his own actions as a *bhakta* (devotee) the practice of *bhakti* (devotion)].

Through Śrī Caitanya, Śrī Kṛṣṇa intended to establish various relationships with men through *bhakti*, and enjoy the sweetness arising from such connections. Śrī Kṛṣṇa as Caitanya limited his infinitude and Almighty character (as *svarūpa* Brahman) in the form of a human being to come within the contact of man, and show the various paths of *prema dharma* (cult of devotion).

मोर पुत्र मोर सखा मोर प्राणपति ।
 एइ भावे येइ मोर करे शुद्धभक्ति ॥
 आपनारे बड़ माने आमारे सम, हीन ।
 सेइ भावे हइ आमि ताहार अधीन ॥
 माता मोरे पुत्र भावे करेन बन्धन ।
 अति हीन ज्ञाने करे लालन पालन ॥
 सखा शुद्ध सख्ये करे स्कन्धे आरोहण ।
 तुमि कोन् बड़ लोक तुमि आमि सम ॥
 प्रिया यदि मान करि करये भर्त्सन ।
 वेद स्तुति हैते हरे सेइ मोर मन ॥
 एइ शुद्ध भक्ति लवा करिनु अबतार ।
 करिव विविध विध अद्भुत विहार ॥

(C, I, 4, 71, 72)

[One who looks upon me as his (or her as the case may be) son, friend, or sweetheart through the relative sentiments pertaining to pure devotion (*śuddhā bhakti*) and regards me as his (or her) equal or inferior, and himself (or herself) as superior, lays me thereby under his (or her) sway. The mother ties me up as her son (to stop my mischievous pranks) and chastises or fondles me as a lowly child, and the comrade sits upon my shoulders playfully by virtue of the pure sentiment of friendship, betokening his feeling of equality towards me, and scouting the slightest trace of the sense of my superiority, if any, in his mind. If the beloved administers a remonstrance to me by reason of a feeling of injured love, she conquered my mind more effectively than the Vedic hymns of eulogy addressed to me. I wish to descend on the earth with this sort of pure *bhakti* and discover to the wondering world the various ways of devotional love between human beings and myself.]

It has already been stated that a principal object of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's descent on this earth was to realize personally and practically as Śrī Caitanya the nature and intensity of pleasure that Rādhā enjoyed in her association with Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Hence, he came down to taste of such love in the intervals of his transformed identity as Rādhā (in the person of Śrī Caitanya) pining for Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

सेइ राधार भाव लना चैतन्यावतार ।
युगधर्म नाम प्रेम कैल परचार ॥

(C, I, 4, 118)

[The descent of Caitanya on the earth took place with Rādhā's fervent sentiment (in his heart) towards Kṛṣṇa. He made widely known the spiritual efficacy of the repetition of the name of Kṛṣṇa as well as of the path of *sādhana* through *bhakti* (devotion) so suitable for the Kali Age.]

श्रीकृष्णचैतन्य गोसानि व्रजेन्द्रकुमार ।
रसमय मूर्ति कृष्ण साक्षात् भुङ्गार ॥
सेइ रस आखादिते कैल अवतार ।
आनुषङ्गे कैल सब रसेर प्रचार ॥
श्रीकृष्णचैतन्य गोसानि रसेर सदन ।
अशेष विशेष कैल रस आखादन ॥

(C, I, 4, 118, 119)

[Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya Gosānī is the son of the chief of Vraja i.e. he is Kṛṣṇa who is the very image of the *rasas* (sentiments) and love personified. He came down to the earth for tasting this sentiment, and preached about the other *rasas* along with the same. Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya is the abode of the *rasas*, and he tasted them in various ways.]

24: (A) *Three-fold character of Śrī Caitanya*

At different times, we find Śrī Caitanya in different characters. At one time, he is an ordinary devotee of Kṛṣṇa, at another, he is Kṛṣṇa himself, and at still another, he is inspired with the personality of Rādhā. In the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, we meet with many instances of his activities as a Vaiṣṇava devotee. That he was Kṛṣṇa himself, descended as Caitanya on the earth, is also discernible in his conduct and statements. This is found in what he said on the occasion of the picnic given by his devoted follower Raghunath Das Gosvāmin who had joined him as a *Sannyāsīn* after renouncing his wife and extensive properties.

गोपजाति आमि, बहु गोपगण सङ्गे ।
बड़े सुख पाइ आमि पुलिन भोजन-रङ्गे ॥

(C, II, 6, 137)

Thinking of his life as Kṛṣṇa at Vraja, he said, 'I belong to the society of cowherds. I find great pleasure in being entertained to picnics in company with other cowherds held in sylvan surroundings.'

The *Cāitanya-caritāmṛta* records that Rai Rāmānanda, Vāsudeva Sārva-bhauma and some others were fortunate enough to be shown the real appearance of Śrī Caitanya. They were convinced by the sight of such appearances that Śrī Caitanya was none other than Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and his own person which was extremely fair-complexioned was really enveloped by a layer of the bright complexion of Rādhā. After a few days' talks between Śrī Caitanya and Rai Rāmānanda, involving discussions of the inner meanings, ideologies and details of such subjects as *bhakti rasas*, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in association, and *sādhana*, Śrī Caitanya, out of mercy for Rai Rāmānanda, put on an appearance, in the twinkling of an eye, with the usually golden-complexioned person of himself in front and that of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the rear. Then Rai Rāmānanda enquired, 'A little while ago, I saw you as an ascetic, and now I find you also as Kṛṣṇa. Kindly explain to me the reason. The golden-complexioned figure of yours in front has enveloped that of Kṛṣṇa in the rear. Kindly remove the frontal cover in order that I may see your real appearance.'

पहिले देखिनु तोमा सन्नयासि-स्वरूप ।
एवे तोमा देखि मुनि श्याम-गोपरूप ॥
तोमार सम्मुखे देखि काञ्चन-पद्मालिका ।
तार गौरकान्ते तोमार श्याम-अङ्ग ढाका ॥
ताहाते प्रकट देखि सवंशोवदन ।
नाना भावे चञ्चल ताहे कमल नयन ॥

(C, II, 8, 251)

[At first, I saw you as an ascetic. Now, I find you as a sapphire-complexioned cowherd. There appears a golden-complexioned replica of your person in front (Śrī Caitanya), enveloping with its bright colour your second person (Śrī Kṛṣṇa) with its sapphire hue. In the latter is found a face with a flute and two restless lotus-eyes.]

In reply Śrī Caitanya said, 'Your love for Kṛṣṇa is very deep. So, what you see is not reliable. It is the nature of a real devotee of Śrī ।

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Kṛṣṇa that he sees his *līṣa-devatā* in all the moving or non-moving creatures that surround him.

प्रभु कहे—कृष्णे तोमार गाढ़ प्रेम हय ।
प्रेमेर स्वभाव एइ जानिह निश्चय ॥
महाभागवत देखे स्थावर जङ्गम ।
ताँहा ताँहा हय तौर श्रीकृष्ण स्फुरण ॥
स्थावर जङ्गम देखे, ना देखे तौर मूर्ति ।
सर्वत्र हय निज ईष्टदेव स्फूर्ति ॥
राधा, कृष्णे तोमार महा प्रेम हय ।
याँहा ताँहा राधाकृष्ण तोमार स्फुरय ॥

(C. II, 8, 252-254)

[Prabhu (master referring to Śrī Caitanya) said, 'you have deep love for Kṛṣṇa. Now this for certain that to a devotee inspired with deep love, the whole world with its various moving and non-moving creatures reveals itself as the conglomeration of the images of Kṛṣṇa, the *līṣa-devatā*. You have great devotion for Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and so you see them everywhere.']

But Rāmānanda was not satisfied with this reply. He requested Śrī Caitanya to tell him frankly what he really was. Was it not true, in asked, that he have appeared in human form by assuming the sentiment and complexion of Rādhikā in order to have a taste of the kind of bliss that Rādhikā derived from Kṛṣṇa's company.

राधिकार भावकान्ति करि अङ्गीकार ।
निज रस आखादिते करियाछ अवतार ॥

(C, II, 8, 254)

Then Caitanya out of mercy revealed to him his own form in association with Rādhikā.

तवे हासि तारे प्रभु देखाइल स्वरूप ।
रसरज¹⁴ महाभाव¹⁵ दुइ एकरूप ॥

(C, II, 8, 254)

(Then Prabhu showed him with a smile his own form combining in itself *rasarāja* and *mahābhāva* i.e., Kṛṣṇa and Rādhikā.)

¹⁴ *Rasarāja* i.e. Kṛṣṇa, the embodiment of the king of the *rasas* i.e. *madhura rasa* (love or sweet sentiment).

¹⁵ *Mahābhāva* i.e. Rādhā is the embodiment of the highest kind of devotion.

When Śrī Caitanya was spending the last twelve years of his life at Puri, inspired with the personality of Rādhā pining for Kṛṣṇa at Vraja in the stage of devotion called *Divyonmāda*, (divine bewilderment) in his cell, then the eight physical manifestations of such a state of mind, viz. perspiration, shivering etc. in their extreme forms used to be visible. He used to shed tears at times and fell into swoon at intervals. The impetuosity of his sentiments was so great at times that even drops of blood oozed out through the pores of his skin, and his hands and feet got loosened in their joints.

शेष ये रहिल प्रभुर द्वादश वतसर ।
 कृष्णेर बिरह स्फूर्ति हय निरन्तर ॥
 श्रीराधिकार चेष्टा येन उद्धव दर्शने ।
 एइ मत दशा प्रभुर हय रात्रिदिने ॥
 निरन्तर हय प्रभुर बिरह उन्माद ।
 भ्रममय चेष्टा सदा प्रलापमय वाद ॥
 लोमकूपे रजोद्गम, दन्त सब हाले ।
 क्षणे अन्न क्षीण हय क्षणे अन्न फुले ॥
 गम्भीरा भितरे रात्रि नाहि निद्रा लव ।
 भिते मुख शिर घसे, क्षत हय सब ॥

(C, II, 2, 35.)

राधिकार भावे प्रभुर सदा अभिमान ।
 सेइ भावे आपनाके हय राधा ज्ञान ॥
 दिव्योन्मादे ऐछे हय इहा कि विस्मय ।
 अधिरुद्ध भावे दिव्योन्माद प्रलाप हय ॥

(C, III, 14, 254)

[During the last twelve years of his life, he, in the transformed personality of Rādhā, used constantly to pine for Kṛṣṇa at Vraja. He used to behave like Rādhikā at the sight of Uddhava (who used to carry message between Rādhikā and Kṛṣṇa when the latter went out of Vraja). This sort of divine bewilderment continued all along with pining for Kṛṣṇa, and incoherent talk and activities. Blood oozed out of pores of his skin, and teeth got loosened in the gum. There were frequent alternations of heaving and shrivelling of the body. He could not have a wink of sleep in his cell, while he used to rub his face and head on the floor causing many abrasions.

Filled with the personality of Rādhā in this phase of his sentiment, he used to feel frequently aggrieved by the imagined inattention and want of loving response from Kṛṣṇa. There is nothing strange in this sort of behaviour in *divyonaṁdā*,—the mental condition he was in, and incoherent talk is incidental to this *abhirūḍha-bhāva* (deepest stage of devotional love).]

Descriptions of such mental and physical condition are scattered in various portions of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. Another very significant picture of this devotional swoon is given below to throw some light on the extreme pressure to which his mind and physique were subjected in the highest flights of the sentiment of love for Kṛṣṇa.

उदण्ड नृत्ये प्रभुर अद्भुत विकार ।
 अष्ट सात्त्विक-भावोदय हय समकाल ॥
 मांसव्रणसह रोमावृन्द पुलकित ।
 शिमुलीर वृन्त येन कण्ठके वेष्टित ॥
 एकेक दन्तेर कम्प देखि लागे भय ।
 लोके जाने दन्त सब खसिया पड़य ॥
 सर्वाङ्गे प्रखेद छुटे ताते रक्तेद्रुम ।
 जज, गग, जज, गग, गद्गदवचन ॥

(C, II, 13, 372)

[An extraordinary mental reaction expressed itself in vigorous ecstatic dances with the simultaneous manifestations of all the eight kinds of *sāttvika-bhāva* (perspiration, shivering etc.). The surging ecstasy made the pores all over the body, with their hairs standing on end, look like (red) eruptions on the skin akin to the stalk of a *śimula* tree (*Salmalia malabarica* : a lofty tree with red flowers and thorns) covered with thorns. The shakings of the teeth (loosened by the force of the excitement) were appalling, and caused the impression that they were about to drop off. There was perspiration all over the body mixed with blood, and the indistinct syllables *jaja*, *gaga*, *jaja*, *gaga*, indicative of an overfull heart, were heard (in his attempts to pronounce the name Jagannātha.)]

This is the expression of Rādhā's personality in him. Just as Rādhā used to behave like a demented person while pining for Kṛṣṇa, similarly Caitanya was found to behave like her when he was inspired by her personality.

24(B) The Śloka 'yaḥ kaumāraharah'

During the last twelve years of Śrī Caitanya's stay at Puri, a large number of Vaiṣṇava devotees from Bengal used to come to him every year at the time of the *Ratha-Yātrā* (car) festival and continued their stay for about four months, I shall here dwell on the feelings that filled Śrī Caitanya's heart when he stood in front of the car of Jagannātha. The episode that underlies the festival should be narrated first on account of its bearing on the feelings roused in Śrī Caitanya on this occasion every year. Thousands of pilgrims from all over India congregate at Puri to witness the festival. At the time of the ceremonial, in which the car of Jagannātha along with two other cars of the accompanying deities with the images put in them are drawn to a place called Guṇḍicā containing a temple and a garden. There the deities stay for eight days and are drawn back in their cars to the temple from which they had started and which constitutes their permanent abode at Puri. This temple symbolizes Dvārakā where Jagannātha's (i.e. Kṛṣṇa's) consorts reside while the temple Guṇḍicā stands for Vraja the abode of the Gopīs. The former is thus the field for the play of *svakīyā rasa*, while the latter, of the *parakīyā*. The signification of the festival is therefore this that Kṛṣṇa (Jagannātha) leaves his wives at Dvārakā to meet the Gopīs at Vraja headed by Rādhikā.

The following facts may be adduced in support of the above implications of *ratha-yātrā*: When *Jagannātha* is put on the car at the time of leaving the temple at the commencement of the ceremony, Lakṣmī [the wife of Nārāyaṇa (Kṛṣṇa in Vaikuṇṭha) and the presiding deity of wealth and material welfare] gets angry. This feeling is expressed through Her priest in various ways while all the other priests on behalf of the *mahiṣīs* of Kṛṣṇa remonstrate and pour abuses on Jagannātha (Kṛṣṇa). On the fourth day, some of Lakṣmī's female warriors enter the Guṇḍicā temple and after lodging their complaint and giving vent to their dissatisfaction come back. Moreover, at the end of the return journey of the cars, Jagannātha is not allowed to enter the temple until after his progress is arrested for a little while by the priests by way of a protest. During Jagannātha's sojourn at Guṇḍicā, the heroic deeds of Kṛṣṇa at Vraja such as the killing of the various demons, suppression of the Kālīya serpent etc. are displayed on the several days in succession, and Jagannātha is dressed and equipped to suit the occasions.

When Śrī Caitanya saw Jagannātha on the car or elsewhere in these

surroundings, he used to have the feeling that he was meeting the latter at Kurukṣetra i.e. outside Vṛndāvana.

ये काले करेन जगन्नाथ दरशन ।

मने भावे कुरुक्षेत्रे पावाञ्छि मिलन ॥

(C., II, 1, 6)

When he danced before the car, he used to sing the following refrain of a song indicating his feelings:

सोइ ! सेइत पराण-नाथ पाइनु ।

याँहा लागि मदन-दहदे भुरि गेनु ॥

(C, II, 1, 7)

[Oh Sakhī (companion), I have after all met the darling of my life without whom my existence was being burnt by the flame of Love, and reduced to continuous weeping.]

In this way, the second *prahara* (quarter of the day) was passed in the singing of the refrain. The inmost feeling of his heart was that he might proceed to Vraja with Śrī Kṛṣṇa. While this mood was continuing he recited in the midst of the dancing a *śloka* which was too difficult to be intelligible to the surrounding assemblage. It runs as follows:—

यः कौमारहरः स एव हि वरस्ता एव चैत्रक्षपा-

स्ते चोन्मीलितमालतीसुरभयः प्रौढाः कदम्बानिलाः ।

सा चैवास्मि तथापि तत्र सुरतव्यापारलीलाविधौ

रेवारोधसि वेतसीतरुतले चेतः समुत्कण्ठते ॥

(C, II, 1, 7)

The exposition of the meaning of the *śloka* made by Hirendranath Dutt in his work in Bengali, the *Premadharma* (p. 256), clarifies in fine way its inner meaning. The paragraph written below giving gist of the above *śloka* follows the substance of his interpretation.

A lover used to meet her beloved, a virgin, in a grove of (a kind of) reeds on moon-lit nights in the spring season on the bank of the Narmada, redolent of the fragrance of the blown *mālātī*, and stirred by the breezes wafting aroma of the flowers of Kadamba (*Nauclea Cadamba*) trees. Later on, the lover became her husband. Her relation to him thus converted into marital from non-marital. She could no longer in marriage feel the same romantic thrill as formerly in her association with him though the environment was identical viz. the same moon-lit ni

the same enjoyable breezes, the same fragrance of flowers in full bloom and the same appropriator of pleasures of her virgin days, and lastly, the same person in herself. Such is the difference between *svakīyā* and *parakīyā*. The above *śloka* was therefore composed by her as an expression of her disappointment.

The reason why Śrī Caitanya recited the *śloka* was understood only by Svarūpa Gosvāmin. Accidentally, Rūpa Gosvāmin joined the car festival at Puri that year. On hearing the recitation, he at once composed mentally a *śloka* expressive of Śrī Caitanya's intention. After return to his lodgings, he wrote it on a palm leaf and inserted it in the eaves of the roof. He went next to have a sea-bath, when Śrī Caitanya came to see him according to his usual practice. A look at the eaves brought to his notice the palm-leaf which he took down. As soon as he read it, he fell into a devotional swoon. Soon after, he regained consciousness and saw Rūpa who had returned from bath, and made him obeisance. After speaking a few cordial words to him, Śrī Caitanya showed the *śloka* on the palm-leaf to Svarūpa with the remark, 'Can you tell me how Rūpa could guess my innermost feeling?' Svarūpa responded, 'The fact that he has been able to read your feeling shows that he has been fortunate enough to be the recipient of your grace.' Śrī Caitanya then requested Svarūpa to explain to Rūpa the intricacies of the path of devotion through *madhura rasa*, as he had proved his competency to appreciate the *madhura* sentiment as expressed in the Gopīs at Vraja.

The *śloka* composed by Rūpa was as under—

प्रियः सोऽयं कृष्ण सहचरि ! कुरुत्तेजमिलित-
स्तद्वाहं सा राधा तदिदमुभयोः सङ्गमसुखम् ।
तथाप्यन्तःखेलन्मधुर-मुरली-पञ्चमजुषे
मनो मे कालिन्दीपुलिनविपिनाय स्पृहयति ॥

(C, II, 1, 10)

[(Śrī Rādhā spoke to her companion Lalitā after meeting Śrī Kṛṣṇa at Kurukṣetra), 'Oh my companion! This is that darling Kṛṣṇa with whom I am associating at Kurukṣetra, I am the same Rādhikā, and we are both enjoying each other's company; still my heart is yearning for the sylvan setting on the bank of the Kālindī (the Yamunā river) where the enchanting flute of Kṛṣṇa with its notes set to the fifth tune inundates the region with its flood of sweet music'].

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Kavirāja Gosvāmin, the author of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, has summed up the meaning of the above śloka by Rūpā: 'The feeling that was roused in the mind of Śrī Caitanya at the sight of Jagannātha was similar to that excited in Śrī Rādhā's mind at her interview with Śrī Kṛṣṇa at Kurukṣetra. There Kṛṣṇa wore a princely attire and was surrounded by elephants, horses etc. as well as by men beyond counting. Where was the dress of a cowherd, and where again were the congenial surroundings of Vṛndāvana? If the feeling excited in her heart at Vṛndāvana could have been felt by her anew, if Śrī Kṛṣṇa could have been contacted in the sweet environment of that place, then her heart's desire could have been fulfilled. Oh, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, you would make me contented again, should you return to my dwelling house at Vṛndāvana?

(C, II, 1, 10-13)

Kavirāja Gosvāmin cites another śloka elsewhere in his book named above on the same subject with his remarks on the feeling experienced by Rādhā. Śrī Caitanya, inspired with the personality of Śrī Rādhā was enjoying the same elation that that the Gopīs had at Kurukṣetra on seeing Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and he had the refrain 'सेइ त पराणनाथ' etc. (*vide supra*) sung by Svarūpa. There Rādhā said to Kṛṣṇa, 'The same you and myself have met anew in a new environment. But Vṛndāvana is drawing my heart towards itself. I request you to set your foot on the soil of the place again. Here, I find a bewildering crowd of human beings, and hear a ceaseless din from elephants, horses, and vehicles constantly on the move. You in your kingly dress in the company of princes and warriors present an extreme contrast to your pleasant simplicity at Vraja. There in Vṛndāvana abundance of flowers, songs of cuckoo and other birds, and humming of black bees are a constant source of pleasure; while your charming simplicity and absence of awe-inspiring grandeur are betokened by your associates in cowherds and the flute in your mouth. On comparison, I feel that our bliss at Vraja was an ocean, of which not even a particle is available here.¹⁶ If you resume your association with me at Vṛndāvana, I shall have my heart's desire fully satisfied.'

(C, II, 13, 374, 375; III, 1, 9-11)

¹⁶ Jiva Gosvāmin makes the following statement in regard to the above śloka: Śrī Kṛṣṇa returned from Goloka in the dress of a cowherd and with a flute in his hand. He was then overwhelmed by Gopī's love for him, but as they were known to be the wives of other individuals, it was thought improper to marry them.

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 Śrī Caitanya expressed this feeling through the recitation of the *śloka* 'यः कौमारहरः' that the *parakīyā rasa* was the highest of all *rasas*, and so he could not be fully contented with the *svakīyā* love of his consorts at Puri at the time of the Car Festival. For this reason, he was going to the Guṇḍicā temple i.e. to Rādhikā at Vraja in response to the greater attraction of the *parakīyā rasa*. Śrī Caitanya inclined to this variant of the sweet sentiment in view of its admitted superiority to other *rasas*.

Rūa Gosvāmin has indicated in the verses of his composition mentioned already that the *parakīyā rasa* cannot give rise to the fullest pleasure outside Vraja. The diminution of pleasure felt by Rādhā at Kurukṣetra in her association with Kṛṣṇa was due to this cause i.e. because it was not enjoyed in the midst of the pleasant simplicity of persons and environment of Vraja devoid of the awful grandeur of Kṛṣṇa and his surroundings elsewhere.

The following verses of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* are given below on account of the clear expression of the view that the application of this *rasa* is vitally connected with Kṛṣṇa in Vraja.

परकौया-भावे अति रसेर उल्लास ।

ब्रज बिना इहार अन्यत्र नाहि वास ॥

(C, I, 4, 76)

कृष्णके बाहिर नाहि करिह ब्रज हैते ।

ब्रज छाडि कृष्ण कभु ना यान काँहाते ॥

(C, III, 1, 7)

[*Madhura Rasa* reaches the highest of its expression in the *parakīyā* form. It does not dwell outside Vraja.]

Do not take Kṛṣṇa outside Vraja in connection with this *rasa*. Kṛṣṇa (as the centre of this *rasa*) never leaves Vraja for any other place.]

Then, it was explained to him by Paurṇamāsī that the Gopīs had been from before his beloved tied to him in eternal wedlock, and the so-called marriage of the Gopas with Gopīs was not so in reality. After this, Kṛṣṇa married Rādhā. Then the latter expressed the feeling embodied in the *śloka* यः कौमारहरः etc., indicating her yearning for the *parakīyā bhāva*, previous to the marriage, (GC, II, 31-36). See in this connection Dr. S. K. De's *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, 486-488.

24 (C) *Śrī Caitanya's Renunciation and Self-restraint*

The foundation for the devotion to Śrī Kṛṣṇa lies in the detachment of the whole mind of the devotee from the world, and the direction of the same towards Him. The passions that constitute an obstacle to the attainment of spiritual progress were briefly referred to by Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramhansa-deva by the pithy expression *Kāminī Kāñcana*. These were shunned by him like poison. His life is a very remarkable example of severe self-restraint and renunciation of the world.

During Caitanya's stay at Puri a Vaiṣṇava devotee named Bhagavān Ācārya used to invite him at times, to take meals at his lodging. On one such occasion, the said Ācārya requested the junior Haridāsa (a devoted follower of Śrī Caitanya) to bring some fine rice from Mādhavī (an ardent Vaiṣṇavī) the aged sister of Śikhī Māhiṭī (another follower of Śrī Caitanya) for Śrī Caitanya's meal. When Śrī Caitanya came to know upon enquiry that the fine rice had been supplied in the above manner, he remained silent. After return to his abode, he ordered his attendant Govinda not to allow the junior Haridāsa to meet him again. Śrī Caitanya thus cut off from himself a devoted follower of his for transgressing his injunction not to talk to any female, and did not pardon him in spite of many entreaties by some of his disciples.

प्रभु कहे वैरागी करे प्रकृति सम्भाषण ।

देखिते ना पारि आमि ताहार वदन ॥

(C, III, 2, 57)

One day, on his way to Yameśvara totā (a garden) at Puri, he heard the *ślokas* of the *Gīta-Govinda* (on the līlā of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa) being sung very charmingly at a distance. He immediately fell into a swoon of devotional excitement. After regaining consciousness and not knowing who was singing, he ran towards the place whence the sound was emanating, and listened to nobody's protest. As the way was lined with thorny bushes, his person was scratched and wounded. When he came near the woman who was singing, Śrī Caitanya's further progress was arrested by Govinda, his attendant, who accidentally came there, and told him that the singer was a woman. On hearing these words, the elation of spirits animating Śrī Caitanya ceased suddenly, the feeling of relief being thus expressed to Govinda, 'Oh Govinda you have saved me on this occasion.'

प्रभु कहे गोविन्द आजि राखिले जीवन ।
स्त्रीस्पर्श हैले आमार हैत मरण ॥

(C, III, 13, 248)

(Prabhu said, Govinda, you have saved my life. Had I touched the woman, I would have fallen lifeless.)

25. The path of Sādhana

The devotion of the Gopīs to Śrī Kṛṣṇa has already been dealt with; but in relation to Him, the Gopīs and Śrī Rādhikā do not belong to the same category. Their ranks differ according as they are Sakhīs, Sakhī of Sakhīs, the leaders of groups of Sakhīs, and so forth, in proportion to their qualities and competency. But each has a direct access to Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Those devotees who want to follow the path of *sādhana* through *parakīyā-rasa* are not eligible to establish a direct relation to Śrī Kṛṣṇa like the Gopīs. According to the line of *sādhana* laid down by Śrī Caitanya, they have to place themselves as Mañjarīs under Sakhīs for performing their allotted duties as members of a group ministering to Śrī Kṛṣṇa's happiness at Vraja in the manner detailed later.

25(A) Rāgātmikā and Rāganugā Bhakti

In his dialogue with Sanātana Gosvāmin, Śrī Caitanya said that there are two kinds of *sādhana-bhakti* viz. (1) *Vaidhī Bhakti* (devotion according to the prescribed rules), and *Rāganugā Bhakti* (devotion giving free scope to sentiment). Those who adopt the former proceed on the lines laid down by Śāstras and their own preceptors, while those who follow the latter, become so much overwhelmed by the current of their devotional sentiments that they cannot continue mindful of the fact that the Śāstric injunctions are being pursued to the letter. They are guided by the fervency of their sentiments. Their keen desire for communion with Kṛṣṇa, and their absolute self-surrender to Him are indications of such a devotion.

On the other hand, *Rāgātmikā* devotion is confined only to the residents of Vraja contemporaneous with Kṛṣṇa. The attendants of Kṛṣṇa, both male and female, his companions of either sex, and his relatives and kinsmen were such residents. Any devotee who adopts any one of the sentiments of the residents of Vraja as the channel for the dedication of his or her *bhakti* or love to Kṛṣṇa becomes a *sādhaka* through *Rāganugā* devotion.

(C, II, 22, 720)

25(B). *Spiritual Duplicate or Mañjarī*

A devotee who intends to practise *sādhana* through *rāgānugā* devotion mentioned above has to imagine for the future the existence of a female spiritual body or duplicate for himself or herself as the case may be at Vraja, under the direction of the spiritual preceptor while adopting the secret *mantra* from him for repetitions during meditation or otherwise. The special duty of the devotee is rendering service to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. This can be effected through his actual material physique as also by the imagined spiritual duplicate at Vraja. His activities through his senses, viz. listening to Vaiṣṇava Śāstras, recitation or singing of episodes or praises of Kṛṣṇa etc. constitute the external service, while the activities carried on through the spiritual duplicate or the body of the devotee as *mañjarī* at Vraja form the internal service rendered through meditation. This spiritual physique (*siddhadeha*) is neither the astral body (called *liṅga* or *sūkṣma* body) of the devotee nor his own person. This is called by the authors of Vaiṣṇava Śāstras the *siddhadeha* of the *Mañjarī*, and it is this spiritual duplicate that is eligible for entering into Vraja for *sādhana*.

वाह्य-अन्तर इहार दुइ त साधन ।
 बाह्ये साधक देहे करे श्रवण कीर्तन ॥
 मने निज सिद्ध देह करिया भावन ।
 रात्रि दिन करे ब्रजे कृष्णेर सेवन ॥

(C, II, 22, 721)

(This method of *sādhana* has two aspects viz. external and internal. In the former aspect, hearing and singing (Kṛṣṇa *nāma*, praises and episodes) are done through the physical body of the devotee while in the latter, services to Kṛṣṇa are performed day and night through the imagined spiritual duplicate or *siddhadeha* of the *sādhaka* at Vraja.)

In this method of *sādhana* none other than a female (or the *siddha-deha* of the *mañjarī*) possesses competency to come near Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa for rendering services. Hence, the *siddha-deha* has to be a female.

सखी विनु एइ लीलाय अन्येर नाहि गति ।
 सखी भावे येइ तौरे करे अनुगति ॥
 राधाकृष्ण-कुञ्जसेवा-साध्य सेइ पाय ।
 सेइ साध्य पाइते आर नाहिक उपाय ॥

(C, II, 8, 232, 233)

[None have competency for ministering to this *tīlā* without *Sakbī*. Anyone who follows her in the spirit of a *Sakbī* (i.e. as a companion of a *sakbī* i.e. as a *mañjari*) attains the objective of rendering services to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in their Kuñja (bower). There exists no other means of attaining the same.]

Even Lakṣmī could not acquire the privilege of communion with Kṛṣṇa at Vraja by following the path of Vedic injunctions.

ताहाते दृष्टान्त - लक्ष्मी करिला भजन ।

तथापि ना पाइल ब्रजे ब्रजेन्द्र नन्दन ॥

(C, II, 8, 244; II, 9, 271, 272)

(As for example, Lakṣmī endeavoured to get communion with Kṛṣṇa at Vraja, but she failed.)

A tradition is current that Mīrā Bāī, the wife of a Rajput prince of Udaypur and a great devotee of Kṛṣṇa, came once to Vṛndāvana and wanted to meet Sanātana Gosvāmin. The latter, a favourite follower of Śrī Caitanya, was debarred from speaking to a woman, according to a rule laid down by the great saint. Knowing as he did that Mīrā Bāī stood very high in spiritual progress, he sent her message that he was debarred under the Vaiṣṇava discipline (of Śrī Caitanya) to have an interview with her. At this Mīrā responded in astonishment that it was a revelation to her that there was any male at Vraja. She knew that the only male at Vraja was Śrī Kṛṣṇa and all else (i.e. *bhaktas*) were *prakṛtī* i.e. females. After this, Sanātana could not object to the interview with Mīrā. The inference pointed to by this story is that none other than females (actual, or imagined as detailed previously for the purpose of the *sādhana*) could be eligible to take to the path of *parakīyā* love for *sādhana* at Vraja.

25(C). *The Śloka Paravyasaninī nārī etc.*

A *śloka* uttered by Śrī Caitanya in the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* gives an idea of the depth of love that animates a real devotee of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The *śloka* has a bearing on the lives of Rūpa and Sanātana, two ardent *bhaktas* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and devoted followers of Śrī Caitanya. They had been known as Sākaramallika and Dabīrakhāsa, when they were serving Hussain Shah, the ruler of Gauḍa (Bengal) in the 16th century. The religious life of perfect self-abnegation and renunciation of Śrī Caitanya attracted them very much, and prompted them to sever all worldly ties

to spend the remainder of their lives in devotion as his followers. They communicated through correspondence their heart's desire to Śrī Caitanya, and expressed their dissatisfaction with the unpalatable kinds of work they had to perform. In reply, they received the following *śloka* from Śrī Caitanya for their consolation and guidance—

परव्यसनिनी नारी व्यग्रापि गृहकर्मसु ।

तमेव स्वादयत्यन्तर्नवसङ्गरसायनम् ॥

(C, II, 1, 26)

(It is possible for a woman, whose heart has been captivated by a person outside wedlock, to perform the duties of her household, while enjoying internally the thrilling company of the new object of her infatuation.)

The import of Śrī Caitanya's reply was to tell Rūpa and Sanātana that they need not feel aggrieved too much for the fact that they had to perform irksome duties of their offices. These cannot be really obstacles in their way if they possessed a strong desire for a life of devotion. Though engaged in their daily occupations, they could have well fixed the mind on Śrī Kṛṣṇa and his *līlā*. Like the woman in the above *śloka*, they could easily and incessantly meditate on the object of their devotion and derive bliss from it with consequent beneficial effects on their spiritual life.

The fundamental idea underneath the *sādhana* through the spiritual duplicate of the *sādhaka* called *mañjarī* is that he must forget his own physical body and substitute imagined spiritual body at Vraja, in and through which he serves Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. To contribute to the pleasure of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa by maintaining a respectful distance as *sakhī* of a *sakhī* (which distance may be done away with by Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa at will) is the objective of this method of devotion.

26. Parakīyā Love in Sādhana through Devotion

Śrī Rādhā and other Gopīs (cowherdesses) are all wives of the Gopas (cowherds) of Vraja. Of the various kinds of relationship between them and Kṛṣṇa, the highest rank is conceded to the sweet sentiment (*madhura rasa*) in which again the attraction of *parakīyā* (non-marital love) is looked upon as the most romantic and forceful, raising its rank higher than the marital. This point has been dealt with already. Every

mahiṣī (or consort) of Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā is the embodiment of the former love while every Gopī at Vraja is the symbol of the latter.

कृष्णकान्तागण देखि त्रिविध प्रकार ।

एक लक्ष्मीगण पुरे महिषीगण आर ॥

ब्रजाङ्गना रूप आर कान्तागण सार ।

श्रीराधिका हैते कान्तागणेर विस्तार ॥

(C, I, 4, 83)

The purport of the above verses is that the *Kānatās* (objects of love) of Kṛṣṇa may be classified as (a) Lakṣmīs in Vaiṣṇava, (b) Mahiṣīs at Dvārakā, and (c) Gopīs at Vraja. The status of the last category is the highest, and Rādhā's place in it is at the top.

The time of composition of the *Bhāgavata* is generally considered to be the 6th century A.C. From that time, the Gopīs are depicted as ministering to Śrī Kṛṣṇa through *parakīyā* love. But in later times, it is found in the *Brahma-Vaivarta-Purāṇa* after 10th century that Brahman (one of the Hindu Trinity) is officiating at the ceremony of Gandharva marriage between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. It may be interpreted in two ways:—

(1) The author of this chapter of the *Purāṇa* has tried to give the *parakīyā* relationship between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa a Śāstric sanction as he had not approved the non-marital relation between them.

(2) He forgot the basis of reasoning and philosophy upon which the said relationship as described in the *Bhāgavata* between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa had been standing and so he thought it fit to replace the non-marital tie by the marital one.

But by this process, the essential objective of the *Bhāgavata* was baffled; because, as has been pointed out already, the region for the play at marital love between Kṛṣṇa and his consorts is Dvārakā, and that for the non-marital is Vraja.

The gist of Śrī Caitanya's statement on the subject is found in the following verses of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*:—

मो बिषये गोपीगणेर उपपत्ति भावे ।

योगमाया करिवेन आपन प्रभावे ॥

आमिह ना जनि ताहा ना जाने गोपीगण ।

इँहार रूप गुणे दुँहार नित्य हरे मन ॥

धर्म छाडि रागे दुँहे करये मिलन ॥

कसु मिले कसु ना मिले दैवेर घटन ॥

(C, I, 4, 72)

The import of the above verses is 'that neither the Gopīs nor myself (Kṛṣṇa) are aware as to how the former would express their *parakīyā* love for me. Yogamāyā would bring that about through her powers. The beauty and qualities of the Gopīs, and the same of myself are mutually attracting our minds. The association takes place outside the limits of the approved Vedic dharma. It is subject to chance, and is dependent upon propitious circumstances for its occurrence, the result being alternations of association and separation with the consequential effects upon our minds'.

26(A). *Parakīyā Relationship of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and Jīva Gosvāmin*

Rūpa Gosvāmin has made the following remarks regarding '*upapati*' (object of extra-marital love) in the Section on '*nāyaka-bheda*' (different kinds of *Nāyakas* or male participants in *parakīyā* love) in his *Ujjvala-Nīlamaṇi*. (*Nāyaka-bheda Prakaraṇa*, ślk. 11, pp. 14, 15).

[The person, who through excess of love for another's wife or a virgin, oversteps the injunctions of *dharma* (religion) in order to have her, and has monopolized her heart is called '*upapati*' by the learned.]

After giving an instance of an act of *parakīyā* love of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, Rūpa says:

अत्रैव परमोत्कर्षः शृङ्गारस्य प्रतिष्ठितः ।

UN. *Nāyaka-bheda Prakaraṇa*, ślk. 13, p. 17.

[In this, the *śṛṅgāra rasa* (i.e. the sweet sentiment) reaches its highest development].

In support of his views that love reaches its extreme point in *parakīyā* love, he quotes the opinion of Bharata Muni as found in the *nāṭya-śāstra* (a treatise on dramaturgy).

'The maximum joy is derived from the play of that love which is beset with many obstacles; involves desires of a clandestine nature, and is difficult of realization for both the participants!' (See UN, ślk. 13, p. 17).

To this Rūpa Gosvāmin adds—

लघुत्वमत्र यत् प्रोक्तं तत्तु प्राकृतनायके ।

न कृष्णे रसनिर्यासखादार्थमवतारिणि ॥

(UN, ślk. 16, p. 18)

[The touch of inferiority that has been mentioned in connection with *parakīyā* love applies only to the ordinary human beings as lovers

and not to Śrī Kṛṣṇa (the Svarūpa Brahman) who was born with the special object of enjoying the quintessence of love.]

Rūpa Gosvāmin (16th C.) describes in his *Lalita-Mādhava* (p. 14) a marriage ceremony performed for tying Śrī Rādhā to Śrī Kṛṣṇa in holy wedlock. In this connection, he quotes a book entitled *Mūla-mādhava māhātmya*.

Jīva Gosvāmin has tried to prove in his 'Locanarocanī,' a commentary on Rūpa's *Ujjvala-Nīlamanī*, that before the advent of Śrī Kṛṣṇa at Vraja, he had been bound to the Gopīs by the tie of marriage. On this point, the chain of his reasoning is as follows:—

(1) The consorts of Viṣṇu were born as Gopīs, and Viṣṇu himself as Kṛṣṇa at Vraja (p. 21).

(2) The marriages of Rādhā and other Sakhīs such as Candrāvalī with Āyāna Ghoṣa and Govardhana Malla respectively are only make-believes, and are no marriage at all (p. 21). Hence, the inference ought to be that the relationship of Kṛṣṇa with the Gopīs is *svakīyā* and not *parakīyā* as alleged.

(3) The obstacles, prohibitions, difficulty of realization etc. which enhance the sweetness of love have been mentioned in the *Bhāgavata* in connection with *parakīyā* love and are said to be derogatory to the *rasa* in the eye of the *Āryas* (respectable people). They may however exist in *svakīyā* love as well. Though they may seem unnatural in *svakīyā* love, they cannot put their impress upon it as *parakīyā* love and make it an object deserving condemnation: (*Ibid.*, p. 22).

(4) The arguments that had been adduced by Śukadeva to remove the doubts of Parikṣit as indicated by his questions to the former, have been utilized by Jīva in support of his position. He says that Bhagavān exists in all living beings and the shadow-husbands of the Gopīs were also His part and parcel. Hence in His case, there is no difference between *svakīyā* and *parakīyā*. (*Ibid.*, p. 28).

After the use of all these reasonings in favour of his contention, Jīva Gosvāmin has appended at the end of his commentary on this section of the *Ujjvala-Nīlamanī* the following *śloka*:

स्वेच्छया लिखितं किञ्चित् किञ्चिदत परेच्छया ।

यत् पूर्वापरसम्बद्धं तत् पूर्वमपरमं परम् ॥

(*Ibid.*, 32; aslo 1, 20, 21)

(I have written of my own accord in some places, and in compliance with the wishes of others in some other places. In regard to the connection between the two portions, the preceding one has an import of its own while the succeeding one is to be understood in its own way.)

The above concluding remarks at the end of the treatment of the subject in this portion of his commentary serve to show that the arguments that he used in favour of the view of the marital love of Kṛṣṇa at Vraja towards Rādhā and the other Gopīs were against his inner conviction which ultimately prompted him to the confession that a portion had to be written under outside influence.

Viśvanātha Cakravartin (middle of the 18th C.), the author of the commentary called 'Ānanda-candrikā' on the *Ujjvala-Nīlamanī*, expresses the opinion on the basis of the *ślokas* from the *Bhāgavata* quoted by him that the Purāṇa describes the Gopīs really as *parakīyā*, and that Jīva Gosvāmin tried to substitute *svakīyā rasa* in the place of *parakīyā* in the relationship of the Gopīs with Kṛṣṇa on the strength of the arguments adduced by him in order to comply with the request of others. His heart's desire was to develop the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhikā on the basis of their *parakīyā* love. In what Viśvanātha has written, he has followed Jīva only in the portion penned by him as the result of his unfettered thinking and has noted it thus with apologies.

अत्र श्रीजीवगोखामिचरणानान्तु यन्मतम् ।

खेच्छामिमतमेतन्मे माननीयं न चेतरेत् ॥

(*Ibid.*, p. 20)

He states further that the fact of the marriage of Srī Kṛṣṇa with the Gopīs in the presence of the Brāhmaṇas and the sacrificial fire as witnesses has not been recorded in any of the treatises written by any of the sages.

श्रीकृष्णेन व्रजसुन्दरीणां विप्रामिसाक्षिकः परिणयः केनापि क्वाप्यायै शास्त्रे नैव दृष्टः ।

(*Ibid.*, p. 27)

27. First mention of Rādhā's name in Literature

The very name of Rādhā, whose love has been depicted in charming colours in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*,—and who has become the centre of inspiration, round which Vaiṣṇava śāstras on *rasa* and the inimitable lyrical songs of the Vaiṣṇava poets have grown up, is not mentioned in

the *Bhāgavata*. Only this much is found in it that among the Gopīs there was one who was dear to Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

It is in the *Saptasatī* of Hāla (2nd C.) that we find first the mention of the name of Rādhā in connection with Kṛṣṇa's love.

अहमारुण तं क्व गोरअं राहिआए अवयेन्ते ।

एताणं वलवीणं अण्णाणं वि गोरअं हरसि ॥

(Śataka I, ślk. 89, p. 44)

मुखमारुतेन त्वं कृष्ण गोरजो राधिकाया अपनयन् ।

एतासां वल्लवीनामन्यासामपि गौरवं हरसि ॥

[Oh Kṛṣṇa! By the blowing of breath through your mouth on the face of Rādhikā for removing the dust (fallen on it from the hoofs of herds of cattle passing along in the cowherd settlement of Vraja), you are hurting the dignity of these and other Gopīs.]

27(A) *Gāndharva Marriage between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa*

The 'Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Janma-khaṇḍa' in the second part of the *Brahma-Vaivarta-Purāṇa* is devoted to the treatment of the *līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in detail. When Rādhā was in Goloka, she was cursed by Śrīdāma to take birth at Vṛndāvana as a human being, and there she became the wife of Āyāna Ghoṣa (BP, Kṛṣṇa, II, 3).

At one time when Kṛṣṇa and Rādhikā happened to meet in a sequestered place in Vṛndāvana, Brahman (the deity) came and performed with due mantras the Gāndharva form of marriage between them. (B.P. Kṛṣṇa, II, 15).

It is also found that the marriage between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa had been pre-ordained before their *līlā* at Vraja. The outline of the rather fantastic episode in the *Mahābhāgavata*, an *Upapurāṇa* is given below as an instance:

On one occasion, Śiva at the sight of the beauty of his consort Pārvatī, entertained the desire to be born as a woman on the earth, and resolved that he will divide himself into nine portions for taking birth as Śrī Rādhā at Vraja, and the eight consorts of Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā viz. Rukminī, Satyabhāmā etc.

At that time Pārvatī also agreed to be born as Śrī Kṛṣṇa with the complexion of her variant form Bhadrakālī.

(MUP, 49, ślks., 11, 16, 19, 21, 22)

Accordingly, Śiva was born as Rādhā as the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu. Āyāna Gopa married her, but suddenly lost virility.

शम्भुर्जन्म स्वयं प्राप्य वृषभानुष्टे ततः ।

स्त्रीरूपं लीलयास्थाय राधेत्याह्वयामुपागमत् ॥

तां राधामुपसंयम्यायानगोपे महामुने ।

क्रीवत्वं सहसा प्राप शम्भोरिच्छानुसारतः ॥

(MUP, 51, ślks., 33, 34)

According to the *Mahābhāgavata*, Kāśyapa and Aditi were born on the earth as Vāsudeva and Devakī, and Dakṣa and Prasūti as Nanda and Yaśodā respectively. Viṣṇu himself took birth as Balarāma and Arjuna, and the Bhairavas of Śiva as Gopīs.

Rādhā was married to Āyāna Ghōṣa, an emanation of Śambhu (Śiva), but Kṛṣṇa, an emanation of Bhagavatī (Pārvatī), was the real object of her love.

MUP, 49, ślks, 52, 53)

28. *Sakhīs and Mañjarīs*

The sentiment symbolized in Gopīs has been dealt with in detail (Sec. 15). The friends and relations of Kṛṣṇa took their birth on this earth along with the advent of Śrī Caitanya as *bhaktas* (devotees). Some of them were *sakhīs* and some *Mañjarīs*. Details about each of them are found in the *Gaura-gaṇodeśa-dīpikā* and other Vaiṣṇava treatises, e.g. the name of *Sakhī* to whom the devotee corresponds, her age, complexion, colour of garment or nature of the print on same, the nature of her service to Kṛṣṇa etc.

A chart containing only names of a few *sakhīs* by way of illustration with such details is given below. Another chart with some names of *mañjarīs* with their particulars is also appended. This chart contains in addition such items of information about them as husband, father, father-in-law, father's and father-in-law's residences. etc.

SAKHIS'

Name	Sakhis	Age In Years, months and days	Complexion	Colour of Garment or nature of print	Kind of Service Rendered
1 Svartūpa	Viśākhā	14/2/15	Lightning	Clusters of Stars	Fetching Garments
2 Rai Rāmānanda	Lalitā	14/3/12	Deep Yellow (Gorocand)	Eyes of Peacock's Tail-Feathers	Serving Betels
3 Vanamālī Kavirāja	Citrā	14/1/19	Saffron (Kāśmīra)	Glassy White	Decoration of the Person
4 Kṛṣṇadāsa Brahmācārīn	Indulekhā	14/2/12	Light Yellow (Haritālā) (Orpiment)	Light Scarlet (Pomegranate Flowers)	Supply of Amṛtāsava
5 Rāghava Gosvāmin	Campakalatā	14/2/14	Blown Campakā Flower (Yellow White)	Cāśapakāin (Bird)	Waving Chowry
6 Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa	Raigadevī	14/2/8	Pollens of Lotus (Yellowish Red)	Javā Flower (Blood Red)	Serving Sandalwood Paste
7 Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī	Tungavidyā	14/2/20	Saffron	Pale Yellow	Entertaining with Music
8 Anantācārya Gosvāmin	Sudevī	14/2/8	Pollens of Lotus (Yellowish Red)	Javā Flower (Blood Red)	Serving Water

1 See 'Śrīmat Rūpa-Saṅgātana-Śikṣāmṛta' by Rasikamohana Vidyābhūṣaṇa, pt. II, pp. 369, 370 'Abhidheya-tattva.'

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1	Rūpa Gosvāmin	Rūpa Mañjarī	13/6/0	Gorocanā (Deep Yellow)	Eyes of Peacock's Tail-feathers	Candra	Viṣabhānu-pura	Ratna	Jāvaṭa	Durmaḍa	Serving betels
2	Sanātana Gosvāmin	Lavaṅga	13/6/1	Lightning	Clusters of Stars	"	"	Ratna-bhānu	—	Maṇḍala	Supplying garlands
3	Jīva Gosvāmin	Vilāsa	13/0/26	Golden Ketaki Flower (Yellowish White)	Black-Bees	"	—	—	—	—	Serving collyrium and Vermillion
4	Raghunātha Dāsa	Rati	13/2/0	Lightning	Clusters of Stars	"	Viṣabhānu-pura	Ratna-bhānu	Jāvaṭa	Vardhana	Shampooing feet
5	Gopāla Bhaṭṭa	Guṇa	13/1/27	"	Javā Flowers (Blood Red)	"	"	Candra-bhānu	Sanketa	Gobhaṭṭa	Serving water
6	Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja	Kasturi	13/0/0	Golden	Glassy White (Kācavarṇa)	"	"	Bhadrakīrti	Nanda-grāma	Prāpa	Supplying sandal paste
7	Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa	Rasa	13/0/0	Blown Campaka Flower (Yellow White)	Hamsapakṣi (Swans)	"	"	Mahākīrti	Sanketa	Brother of Lavanga-mañjarī	Decoration of the person
8	Lokaṇātha Gosvāmin	Mañjulīlā	13/6/7	Tapta-homa (purified gold)	Kimśuka Flower (Red)	"	—	—	—	—	Fetching garments

29. Meditation and Eternal Life

The method of *sādhana* as *mañjarī* lies through meditation on Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa bound in *parakīyā* love, and through service rendered to them through the *siddha-deha* (spiritual duplicate) of the *sādhakā* at Vraja. The *līlā* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in the eight *praharas* (divisions) of day and night such as end of night (*nīśānta*), dawn, forenoon, noon, afternoon is found described in detail in the *Govinda Līlāmṛta* and other *Vaiṣṇava* books. The service to be rendered by each *Mañjarī* to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa is definitely allotted to her as pointed out in the preceding Chart for *Mañjarīs*. The devotee through his *siddha-deha* at Vraja remains engaged in the performance of the particular service to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa such as supplying water, waving a chowry, and fetching betels. The object of such service is to contribute to the pleasure and comforts of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in their bowers at Vraja, however small and humble the contribution may be. The *Mañjarī* continues his meditation on the eight divisioned *līlā* mentioned above and also on the duty performed through his spiritual duplicate at Vraja as this service has been pinned into the continuous chain of the said *līlā*.

It is believed traditionally that Śrī Kṛṣṇa sojourned on this earth in human form for 125 years. After the performance of many heroic and extraordinary deeds, he was ultimately raised to the status of the *Avatārin* in the estimation of the people (*vide* previous sections 4 & 5). Kṛṣṇa's *līlā* is believed to be eternal. From the historical standpoint the achievements of Kṛṣṇa admit of their arrangement in a chronological order. Hence, the question naturally presents itself as to how a particular deed performed by Kṛṣṇa can be eternal. When Rāi Rāmānanda said in regard to Śrī Kṛṣṇa in his dialogue with Śrī Caitanya that Śrī Kṛṣṇa was engaged day and night in eternal amorous sports with Rādhā in the *Kuñjas* and this was His nature (C, II, 8, 225), Rāmānanda had in mind the eternal *līlā* which is explained below. In interpreting the eternal nature of the said *līlā*, the statements found in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* will be followed in the main. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja says at the outset—

नित्यलीला कृष्णोर सर्वशास्त्रे कथ ।

बुद्धिंते पारि लीला केमने नित्य हय ॥ (C, II, 20, 644)

[That the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa is eternal is recorded in all *Sāstras*. The way in which it becomes eternal is made out as under (in the following passages).]

The *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* lays emphasis on the eternal character of the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa at Vraja when he was *kīśora* (i.e. from 10 to 15 years of age). The reason for same lies in the fact that the *madhura* (sweet) *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa is confined to that period of his life. Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the son of the chief of Vraja, is the prince of youths, and young eternally. His tender youth i.e. the said period of his life was made fruitful by sports and enjoyments (with the Gopīs). (C, II, 8, 225)

किशोरशेखर धर्मा ब्रजेन्द्रनन्दन ।

प्रकट लीला करिवारे यवे करे मन ॥

(C, II, 20, 643)

It is stated in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta Sindhu* that the period spent by Kṛṣṇa at Vraja can be divided into parts viz. *Kaumāra* (up to 5 years of age), *Paugāṇḍa* (from 5 to 9 years), and *Kaiśora* (from 10 to 15 years), of which the last is the best.

(BbRS, Dakṣiṇa, I, 159, 358)

Śrī Kṛṣṇa of eternally tender youth entertained the desire to descend on the earth to make his activities patent in the external world. First, he sent down to Vraja his parents, *bhaktas*, (devotees), and friends and relatives, and afterwards, he himself appeared. Then in succession, his heroic deeds like the slaying of the demon Pūtānā were performed.

कमे वाल्य योगराड किशोरता प्राप्ति ।

रास आदि लीला करे कैशोरे नित्य स्थिति ॥

(C, II, 20, 644)

(Gradually, he passed through his childhood, boyhood, and tender youth. His activities such as *rāsa līlā* dwell eternally in his tender youth.)

The clusters of stars and other heavenly bodies are countless and infinite. The *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa which took place, say, at Vraja is taking place in one or other of these heavenly systems or *brahmāṇḍas*. Hence though there may be a chronological sequence in the deeds of Kṛṣṇa in one Vraja of a *brahmāṇḍa*, and they may be occurring within a limited period, with reference however to the countless *brahmāṇḍas*, each part of the *līlā* (be it the diurnal or seasonal *līlā* at Vraja or any place outside Vraja, and which is being repeated in the other *brahmāṇḍas*, Kṛṣṇa being present in each of them by virtue of his power of *kāya-vyūha* or multiplication of his person endlessly to remain present at any number of places simultaneously) is happening continuously in the universe somewhere or other;

hence a part of the *līlā* in question which looks short-lived in the Vraja of a *brahmāṇḍa* becomes eternal with reference to the whole universe including numberless *brahmāṇḍas*. (C, II, 20, 644)

The subject has been further explained in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* with the analogy drawn from the sun. If one stands on any spot on this earth, he sees the luminary from sunrise to sunset followed by the night. But looked at from the viewpoint of the earth in its entirety, the sun would be visible in the sky in some portion or other of this planet (should he turn his attention to this aspect of its activity) knowing no setting. Like the sun proceeding along its course ceaselessly, and diffusing its glory all round without a moment's stoppage, Kṛṣṇa is enacting his *Vraja-līlā* in the numberless Vrajas of the innumerable *brahmāṇḍas*. This *līlā* has been compared to the *alātacakra* or fire-circle caused by turning round flaming torch. Each portion of the *līlā* becomes thus continuous and eternal, and becomes linked up with its equivalents in the various worlds. It thus becomes full of life at the present moment in the meditation of the *sādhaka* and not a fact belonging to the dead past. This conception enhances the sweetness of the meditation and helps its concentration, and shows how the *līlā* can be eternal, and exert its influence as such on the mind of the devotee.

30. *Sādhana as Mañjarī and Response*

Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin, the great contemporary and follower of Śrī Caitanya, used to practise *sādhana* as Rati Mañjarī. It has already been pointed out that the *bhakta* believes that appeals to the *Iṣṭa-devatā* with the deepest devotion elicit response from Him. The life of Raghunātha testifies to the possibility of receipt of such a response. One or two instances from his experiences are given below.

Raghunātha's personality is a model of perfect renunciation and self-restraint. His extensive properties and his charming wife could not bind him down to a secular career. He embraced poverty by turning his face sternly away from all worldly happiness and reached the highest stage of the good qualities worthy of a Vaiṣṇava and a devoted follower of Śrī Caitanya.

प्रभुर भक्तगणेशे तिरहो हय प्राणसम ॥

रात्रिदिन करे तिरहो नाम संकीर्तन ।

क्षणमात्र नाहि छाडे प्रभुर चरण ॥

परम वैराग्य तौर, नाहि भक्ष्य परिधान ।

येछे तेछे आहार करि राखये पराण ॥

(C, III, 6, 152)

[He is dear as life to the *bhaktas* of Śrī Caitanya. He repeats aloud the name (of Kṛṣṇa) day and night, and is never away from the *Prabhu's* feet for a moment. He is absolutely free from worldly desires and is extremely indifferent regarding food and dress, and maintains his life on sustenance taken haphazardly.]

His body shrivelled up in consequence of severe austerity, so much so that he seemed to bend down by a gust of wind. Still he never swerved from the strict course of meditation and singing of Kṛṣṇa's *tīlā*, and repetitions of his name. In this state of his physique, he used to worship Nārāyaṇa symbolized in the *śilā* (stone or pebble) with imaginary requisites and repeated the name of Kṛṣṇa on beads of the rosary of *guṇjās* given him by Śrī Caitanya, made symbolic food offerings to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa mentally, and took symbolically a part of the food offered to the *Iṣṭa-devatās* in meditation, in compliance with the following directions given to him by Śrī Caitanya.

ग्राम्य वार्ता ना शुनिवे, ग्राम्य-वार्ता ना कहिवे ।

भाल ना खाइवे, आर भाल ना परिवे ॥

अमानी मानद कृष्णनाम सदा लवे ।

ब्रजे राधाकृष्ण-सेवा मानसे करिवे ॥

(C, III, 6, 151)

[Do not listen to, or indulge in, vulgar gossip. Do not indulge in the pleasure of the palate, of finery in dresses. Humble in behaviour and respectful to others repeat the name of Kṛṣṇa ceaselessly. Render service to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa at Vraja through meditation.]

Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin followed these directions to the letter throughout his life.

The erudite Vaiṣṇava scholar Rasika Mohana Vidyābhuṣaṇa has cited an instance of mental offerings made to the *Iṣṭa-devatās* by Raghunātha from the *Bhakti Ratnākara*.

One day Raghunātha was suffering from indigestion when one of his followers Viṭṭhalanātha called two physicians for treatment. After feeling the pulse they diagnosed the ailment to be due to eating of

boiled rice with milk. Viṭṭhala laughed at this expression of opinion as to the cause of the disease, and threw doubts on their ability to examine the pulse correctly, saying that Gosvāmijī had not taken food at all. At this, Raghunātha intervened and stated that the physicians were correct, for the previous day, he had in meditation offered boiled rice with milk to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and ate the *prasāda* (the offered food) mentally. This admission astonished the physicians. At this time Gosvāmin was dwelling in a cottage on the bank of Rādhākunḍa (a big house of that name) at Vraja. There he used to spend his time in single-minded meditation on the *līlā* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, repetitions of their names and visualization of their *līlā* in his state of *antardaśā* (internally conscious trance). It is through this *antardaśā* that it becomes possible for a *sādhaka* to get access, through his spiritual duplicate, to the spot, where the *līlā* takes place, visualize it in its entirety and taste of the bliss of such an experience. Raghunātha used to spend the major part of day and night in such a trance. Even when he repeated the names of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, he merged himself in the bliss of such a visualization.

Two other mental states of *sādhaka* are also distinguished viz. *bāhya-daśā* (pure mental state of devotional trance), and *ardha-bāhya-daśā* (a mental state of semi-trance in which the *sādhaka* enjoys the company of the friends and relations of Kṛṣṇa at Vraja). An instance of the latter relating to Raghunātha's life is worth mentioning. For looking after him, a resident of Vraja was engaged as an attendant, who used to revere him as father and receive affection from him as son. He noticed that his master almost ceased taking food, drinking only a quantity of whey which could be poured in a small container made of a leaf. It struck his mind that if a container could be made with a bigger leaf, it was likely that a little more whey could be taken by his master. With this idea, he brought from a village called Sakhīsthali a big leaf of the *Palāśa* tree and made a container. Then with whey poured into it, he appeared before Raghunātha who was then in 'semi-trance.' After a few minutes, he woke up and at the sight of the big leaf-container asked him whence he fetched such a big leaf. No sooner did he hear the name of Sakhīsthali uttered by him than he threw away the leafy receptacle in rage, and

warned him not to go again to the village where Candrāvalī dwelt. At this moment, Gosvāmijī did not regain full freedom from his trance. He was immersed as a Mañjarī in the extremely anxious expectation for the arrival (at the place of assignation in a particular bower) of Kṛṣṇa that Rādhā was feeling in the latter part of the night and small hours of the dawn. He was perceiving in his trance that Rādhā was waiting fully dressed and decorated and with the bed and other paraphernalia in the bower ready for the reception of the object of her love. But the latter was spending the hours at the bower of Candrāvalī, the *sakhī* who competed with Rādhā in the sharing of Kṛṣṇa's love at Vraja. Naturally, the dear and intimate companions (*sakhīs* and *mañjarīs*) of Rādhā were growing irate at the conduct of Candrāvalī, whom they regarded as solely responsible for the breach of assignation with Rādhā, the chief of their group (yūtheśvarī). Her *sakhī* Lalitā was advising resort to *māna* i.e. assumed retaliatory rejection of the object of love for neglect and indifference, while Rati Mañjarī (Raghunātha) who belonged to Rādhā's group (yūtha) was supporting the proposal. It was in this mental condition that the attendant mentioned the name of the village of Candrāvalī which enraged him so much.¹⁷

The two instances detailed above indicate how great an influence is exerted by the emotions felt in the *siddha-deha* (spiritual duplicate at Vraja) on the actual physique of the *sādhaka*.¹⁸

31. Prayers of Mañjarīs

Ideas about desires that actuate a *sādhaka* as Mañjarī, and the manner in which he renders services to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa can be had from a few hymns and prayers of Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin, and Narottama Dāsa (Ṭhākura). Translations of some Sanskrit hymns of the former, and extracts from some prayers (in Bengali) of the latter are appended below:

17 Rasika Mohana Vidyābhūṣana, *op. cit.*, 164, 165.

18. The first instance is not found with all its details in the *Bhakti-Ratnākara* (1931-32 ed. Murshidabad), while the reference for the second has not been given in Rasika Mohana's biography of Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin quoted above. But as the illustrations are very apt for my purposes, I could not resist the temptation of recording them here with their particulars.

31(A). *Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin (Rati Mañjarī).*

“1. When shall I be able to serve Śrī Rādhā by waving the whisk near her at a time when she with three or four *sakhīs* will make garlands of flowers on the banks of the Yamunā, and the arch master in the art of creation of *rasas*, Śyāma-sundara (Kṛṣṇa) will suddenly appear on the scene and desire to embrace her.”¹⁹

“2. After this, when Rati Mañjarī thought of *sakhī* Lalitā under whom she was placed to render services to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, she felt a little out of countenance for expression of her desire to contact Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa directly which may be interpreted as an indication of her vanity. It was her standing duty to follow the lead of Lalitā. Hence, she is addressing the following words to her: ‘I pray to that Lalitā Sakhī who is my constant protectress; who stands for all that is precious to other Sakhīs, who is the greatest favourite of Kṛṣṇa among all the Sakhīs of the group of Rādhā, the object of love of Rādhā, the arbitress of my destiny; who is loved by Śrī Kṛṣṇa. May she appear before my eyes on the bank of this Kuṇḍa (Rādhā Kuṇḍa)’.”²⁰

31(B) *Narottama Dāsa (Tḥākura).*

- 1 हरि हरि आर कवे हेन दशा हव ।
छाड़िया पुरुष-देह, कवे वा प्रकृति हव,
डुँहु अङ्गे चन्दन पराव ॥
गनिया बान्धव चूड़ा, ताहे नवगुञ्ज वेड़ा
नाना फुले गाँधि दिव हार ।
पीत वसन अङ्गे पराइव श्रीगोविन्दे,
वदने ताम्बुल दिव आर ॥
राधारुष मनोहरि, देखिव नयन भरि,
नीलाम्बरे ताँहारे साजाइया ।
रतनेर जरि आनि, बाँधिव विचिल वेणी,
दिव ताहे मालती गाँधिया ॥

[Hari, Hari, when shall I in the future attain the state, in which I shall become a *mañjarī*, leaving my physical frame of a man, and apply sandalwood paste to the bodies of both (Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa), draw up the hair on the head of Kṛṣṇa, tie it up into a knot, and surround it with

19 *Srīmat Dāsa Gosvāmin*, Supplement, 228, 229.

20 *Ibid.*, 228, 229

a string of *guñjā* seeds and a garland of various flowers; shall assist Śrī Govinda at weaving his usual yellow cloth, and put spiced betel into his mouth; shall have my fill of the sight of the charming person of Śrī Rādhā after adoring her with a blue piece of cloth; and shall bind her hair with bejewelled golden tapes into variegated plaits and put on them garlands of the *mālātī* flowers].

- २ सम्मुखे रहिया कवे चामर दुलाव ;
अगुरु चन्दन गन्ध दुँहु अङ्गे दिव ॥
सखीर आज़ाय कवे ताम्बुल योगाव ।
सिन्दूर-तिलक कवे दोँहाके घराव ॥

[When shall I be able to stand in front and wave the whisk, and apply the *aguru* and sandalwood paste to the persons of both (Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) ; shall serve to them spiced betels under the direction of my guiding Sakhī and put vermilion marks on their foreheads.]

- ३ हरि हरि आर कवे ए हेन दशा हव ।
कवे वृषभानुपुरे, आहिरी गोपेर घरे,
तनया हइया जनमिव ॥
जावटे आमार कवे, ए पाणि ग्रहण हवे,
वसति करिव कवे ताय ।
सखीर परम श्रेष्ठ, ये ताहार हय श्रेष्ठ,
सेवन करिव कवे ताय ।
श्रीरूपमञ्जरी सखी, मोरे अनाथिनी देखि,
राखिवे रातुल दुइ पाय ॥

[Hari, Hari, when shall I in the future attain the state in which I shall be born as the daughter in the family of a milkman at Vṛṣabhānu-pura. When shall I have my marriage celebrated at Yāvaṭa, and establish my residence there, and shall have the opportunity of rendering my services to the object of love (Kṛṣṇa) of the highest among the Sakhīs i.e. Śrī Rādhikā.....may Rūpa Mañjarī (i.e. Rūpa Gosvāmin) seeing me helpless give me shelter under his ruddy feet.]

- ४ हरि हरि आर कि एमन दशा हव ।
ए भव-संसार त्यजि, परम आनन्दे मजि,
आर कवे ब्रजभूमे याव ॥
सुखमय वृन्दावन, कवे हवे दरशन,
से धुलि माखिव कवे गाय ।
प्रेमे गद गद हये, राधाकृष्ण नाम लये,
बौधिया वेदाव उभराय ॥

निर्भये निकुञ्जे गिये; अष्टाङ्गे प्रणाम हये,
 डाकिव हा राधानाथ ! बलि ।
 कवे यमुनार तीरे, परश करिष नीरे,
 कवे पीव करपुट तुलि ॥
 आर कवे एमन हव, श्रीरास-मण्डले याव,
 कवे गङ्गागङ्गि दिव ताय ।
 सखीर अनुगता हये, कुञ्ज-सेवा लव चेये,
 दौँहे डाकिवेन सखि ! आय ॥
 कोथा गोवर्द्धन गिरि, देखिव नयन भरि,
 राधाकुण्डे करिव प्रणाम ।
 भ्रमिते भ्रमिते कवे, ए देह पतन हवे,
 एइ आशा करे नरोत्तम ॥

[Hari, Hari, shall I ever attain the state, in which after renouncing this world, I shall go to Vraja and be overwhelmed with extreme joy; when shall I see Vṛndāvana full of bliss and smear my person with the dust of the place; shall be overwhelmed with love, repeating the names of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa, and express aloud my joy in tears and roam about; shall go to the bower without any fear, and after making obeisance with eight limbs touching the ground, shall call out 'Oh, Rādhā-Nātha (Kṛṣṇa)! When shall I go to the bank of the Yamunā, touch its water, and drink it with joined palms of my hands. When shall I be fortunate enough to go to Śrī-Rāsa-Maṇḍala (the place for the holding of the nocturnal festival called Rāsa) and roll myself on the ground. When shall I, under the guidance of Sakhī, be entrusted with the performance of some service at the bower in response to my request, and shall be called by both (Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) to come near them. When I shall regale my eyes fully with the sight of Govardhana hill and bow reverentially to Rādhā-Kuṇḍa (the sacred pond of that name). Narottama (the writer) entertains the hope that he might breathe his last while roaming in the precincts of the sacred Vṛndāvana.]

32. Idealized Śrī Kṛṣṇa

The way in which, from the standpoint of history, Śrī Kṛṣṇa came to be recognized as an Avatāra and then as the Avatārin has already been dealt with (see secs. 3-5). As on the one hand, his extraordinary and supernatural deeds made him the object of love and veneration in society, similarly, on the other, he, in view of his character as a superman, and

his divine qualities, was invested with physical characteristics, dresses, decorations etc. indicative of the said character and qualities. These were his ideal general appearance, sapphire complexion, glances, knot of hair on his head with peacocks' tail-feathers fixed into it, yellow *dhaṭī* (cloth), flute with its charming tunes, and so forth. The brightness of his physique was extraordinary. He was regarded as *manmatha-manmatha* i.e. the infatuator of the god of love and beauty himself. His body was adorned with suitable ornaments. His strength was superhuman. The conventional appearance with which he was credited was bent in three places (*tribhaṅga*), while his teeth, eyes, voice, gait etc. were all extraordinarily charming. His environment at Vraja was exemplary. The trees and creepers, the beautiful bowers called Nidhu and Nikuñja, birds such as peacocks and cuckoos, blackbees, pastures and lakes, hills in the vicinity, temples and houses, the *pellucid* water of the Yamunā and its bank green with verdure, Vamśīvaṭa Ghāṭ and other bathing places on the Yamunā, and even the dust of Vraja came to be looked upon as full of beauty and charm. He is of eternally tender youth at Vraja. The unparalleled qualities of his head and heart and his quick acquisition of knowledge of the Śāstras and mastery over 64 fine arts have been referred to previously in a general way. He is Svarūpa Brahman. The slaying of Pūtanā and such other heroic deeds described in the *Bhāgavata* are evidence of his superior prowess. On the basis of this philosophy and belief, the episodes including *inter alia* the supernatural acts of Kṛṣṇa become exceedingly interesting to a devotee.

33. Efficacy of Repetitions of Name

The Vaiṣṇava devotees lay special emphasis on the efficacy of the repetitions of the names of the *Iṣṭa-devatās*. The lives of many Vaiṣṇava *sādhakas* testify to the great fruitfulness of the repetitions of the names of Kṛṣṇa, Nityānanda together with Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. The name and the divinity represented by the name are looked upon as identical. Great spiritual results are believed to issue from the constant fixation of the mind on Śrī Kṛṣṇa brought about by the repetitions of his name. Just as each material element or compound of elements has its own properties, fire causing burns, water producing a cooling effect, similarly it is the belief of the Vaiṣṇava *bhaktas* that the repetition of the name of the *Iṣṭa-devatā* has a property of its own viz. corroding sins gradually to

nil. Again, the properties of the materials referred to above inhere in them and operate independently of the will of man; the medicines produce their usual effects on the human body whether they are taken with a favourable or unfavourable attitude by the patients. In the same way, the repetitions of the names done with or without care do not fail to gradually eliminate spiritual demerits. It is laid down in the *Bhāgavata* (XII, 12, 48) that by the singing of the name of Bhagavān Ananta (Balarāma), or listening to the recounting of his *līlā* in songs or otherwise, Ananta enters into the mind, and like the sun dispelling darkness or a storm dispersing the clouds, destroys countless dangers besetting men. The repetitions of the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇa purify the mind, bring about detachment from the attractions of the world, and deepen *bhakti* (devotion).

According to the usual rules of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstras (*Vidhimārga*), the practice of *bhakti* lies through nine sets of activities viz. hearing, singing, meditating, foot salutation, worshipping, obeisance, service, comradeship, self-dedication are the nine manifestations of *bhakti*. Repetition of the name of *Iṣṭa-devatā* is common to both *vaidhī* and *rāgānugā* (i.e. proceeding on the lines of prescribed rules, or according to the dictates of one's sentiments when the *bhakti* is excessive) lines of *sādhana*. For this reason, those who have taken to *sādhana* through *parakīyā* sentiment, are also found to repeat the names of the *Iṣṭa-devatās* constantly.

34. Group-Singing of *Līlā*

Group-singing of details of *līlā* (deeds) of Kṛṣṇa are of great help to the practice of *sādhana* of Vaiṣṇavas. Particulars relating to the love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in different surroundings and circumstances at Vraja have been described in songs composed with great finery in language and set to tunes. The songs of the Vaiṣṇava poets of Bengal touch on such themes as physical appearances of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhikā (*rūpa-varṇanā*), first love (*pūrvārāga*), secretly proceeding to the place of assignation (*abhisāra*), waiting in readiness to receive the object of love at the appointed place (*vāsaka-sajjā*), association (*milana*), separation (*viraha*), feeling of separation even in association through excess of love (*prema-vaicittya*), feeling of being thrown away by the object of love in his failure to come caused by a rival beloved (*khaṇḍitā*), separation by

quarrel (*kalahāntaritā*), assumed rejection of object of love for neglect and indifference (*māna*), separation at dawn after association at the bower, (*kuñja-bhaṅga*), taking cattle to and from pastures (*goṣṭha*), details of incidents during Kṛṣṇa's stay at Mathurā (*Māthura*) etc. The charm of the language and the tunes of the songs stir the minds of the devotees more readily, helping them to keep their trains of thought tied to the *līlā-devatās* Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

It is noticed that in many poems and songs in Sanskrit as well as in Bengali there are many phrases and descriptions that appertain to the love-affairs of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, but are indecorous. They are found in the charming compositions of even such prominent Vaiṣṇava poets as Jayadeva, Caṇḍīdāsa, Vidyāpati, Rūpa Gosvāmin, Sanātana Gosvāmin, Jīva Gosvāmin and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. In this connection, the remarks of the learned Vaiṣṇava scholar Rasik Mohana Vidyābhūṣaṇa are worth noting. They have immediate bearing on some poems composed by Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin (in Sanskrit) which Rasik Mohana has translated and embodied in his biography of the saint. Says he, "These poems of Dāsa Gosvāmin containing his heart's desires are in substance hymns in connection with the *sādhana* through *parakīyā* love at Vraja. That such a method of *sādhana* and such prayers cannot contain anything that can tarnish them with carnal indecorum, that they reflect only the remembrances of the most sacred *līlā* (full of *rasas*) of the Embodiment of the combined *sat* (existence), *chit* (consciousness) and *ānanda* (bliss), imbued with the happiness born of pure love, that they are not cogitations about the gross enjoyments of ordinary mortals, but are the thoughts and feelings issuing from meditations on the sports relating to the gladdening emanation (Rādhikā) inspired by Kṛṣṇa the *Svarūpa Brahman*, the personification of consciousness and bliss, is demonstrated by the life of their author Raghunātha, mirroring the spirit of the most vigorous renunciation of all worldly attractions. The faintest shadow of carnality is unable to darken even the fringe area of the thoughts of such great Vaiṣṇava saints like Raghunātha. Hence, if the ordinary readers are unable to read the *stotras* with the appropriate spirit of devotion, then my humble prayer to them is that they should desist from casting their glance at these portions of the poems altogether."

These *sādhakas* who practised their *sādhana* through *parakīyā* love cast as sacrificial offerings all their carnal desires into the consuming

flames of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the infatuator of even the god of love and beauty, and was equally the Creator and Controller of all feelings including the grosser ones. They thus became indifferent to worldly pleasures and suppressed their desires. Rai Rāmānanda was another example of the high degree of self-restraint and detachment from the world that a Vaiṣṇava devotee could attain in the midst of profuse pelf and power (C, III, 5, 114-119). The phraseology and accounts found in the ancient Sanskrit treatises on erotics have been used in many places in their works and poems by the Vaiṣṇava author-devotees in relating the incidents and details of the amorous *līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa at Vraja. It is difficult for all readers to look at them from the angle of perfect renunciation and self-restraint which actuated the said authors. It is for this reason that it has been stated in a general way that the *madhura līlā* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa is mysterious and it is beyond the competency of those who are not imbued with the right feeling of devotion and reverence and are therefore ineligible for the purpose to speak of it or dwell on same, and pry into the secrets not meant for them. The verses in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* relating to the subject are

गुप्तं राखिह, कथा ना करिह प्रकाश ।

आमार बाबुल चेष्टा लोके उपहास ॥ (C, II, 8, 255)

चैतन्येर गूढतत्त्व जानि इहा हैते ।

विश्वास करि शुन तर्क ना करिओ चिते ॥

अलौकिक-लीला एइ परम निगूढ़ ।

विश्वासे पाइये तर्क हय बहुदूर ॥ (C, II, 8, 257)

[Keep the matter secret, do not divulge it. My eccentric efforts may become a target for ridicule by the uninitiated public.

We come to know the secrets of Caitanya's esoteric method of *sādhana* from these passages. Adopt them with implicit faith, and do not argue. This *līlā* is supernatural and shrouded in the deepest mystery. You can appreciate it only through sympathetic belief, but only repel it to a distance by resorting to reasoning.]

35. The Chain of Arguments

(a) The authors of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstras and the Vaiṣṇava *sādhakas* resort to the five sentiments (*rāsas*) as means of their *sādhana* (spiritual

efforts). It has already been stated that if the feeling of enmity towards Bhagavān be cherished in the heart, it does not fail to produce a beneficial result spiritually. The Vaiṣṇava thinkers noticed that the *parakīyā-rasa*, has been pronounced as the highest among the *rasas* by the authors of the treatises that analyse and examine the *rasas* e.g. writers of books on rhetoric like Bharata, and so naturally the question arose in their minds why this *rasa* should not be utilized for the purpose of *sādhana*, and so ultimately it was applied.

(b) The problem that just presented itself before the authors of Vaiṣṇava Śāstras was how the anti-social sentiment can be harnessed for their ends without the evil consequences. They came to this conclusion that the apprehended evils can be eliminated if its application be subjected to these two limitations:

(1) This sentiment must always be directed towards Kṛṣṇa (*Svarūpa Brahman*), and

(2) This sentiment must be confined to Vraja i.e. the tract of country to which the early amorous *līlā* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is limited. For this reason it has been said in the already quoted verses from the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* [see *ante* Sec. 24 (B)] that the special dwelling place of the *parakīyā* form of love is *Vraja* which is never left by Śrī Kṛṣṇa for any other place for the enactment of this *līlā*.

(C, I, 4, 76 and III, 1, 7)

(c) If Śrī Kṛṣṇa be looked upon as a Superman, then the steps by which from the historical standpoint he emerged into an *Avatāra* in the estimation of the people and then into the *Avatārīn* have already been dealt with. The chain of reasonings by which Śrī Kṛṣṇa came to be the chief enactor of the love episodes during his residence at Vraja in the early part of his life as recorded in the *Bhāgavata* and other Vaiṣṇava Śāstras may be thus put from the historical standpoint:

Śrī Kṛṣṇa spent his boyhood and also some time after at Vraja in the midst of very poetic surroundings and circumstances. He used to roam about daily under the open sky in sylvan settings, and sports with his companions occupied the greater part of each day. The murmurings of the rapidly flowing Yamunā, the green trees and creepers, the sweet scenting flowers, the songs of birds, and the hummings of black bees mingling in harmony with the beauty of rivers, lakes and hills created an atmosphere of inexpressible charm. The sports and pranks of Śrī

Kṛṣṇa during this period of his boyhood and early youth in company with the boys and girls of the cowherd settlement of Vraja in the said enchanting surroundings are imbued with a special beauty and charm.

(d) The authors of the Vaiṣṇava Sāstras thought it fit that the *parakīyā* love of the Gopīs should be conferred on Him, who spent his most impressionable days in the poetic surroundings of Vraja and was naturally connoisseur of love and beauty, earned the love and esteem of many people by his heroic as well as supernatural feats and achievements, and later on, grew up into an object of reverence and worship as an Avatāra and then the Avatārin. The leaders of thought among the Vaiṣṇavas came to the conclusion that if this *parakīyā*-love be directed towards Śrī Kṛṣṇa and confined to Vraja, there will not be any evil consequences while at the same time, close relationship with Him will be established. Pursuant to these ideas, the relative literature came into being. When the devotee attains purity of mind through severe self-restraints and renunciation, then he, in and through the imagined spiritual duplicate of his own self as a *Mañjarī* as detailed already, dedicates himself to the duties, however humble, of assisting at the *parakīyā* *līlā* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa at Vraja. This is the kind of *sādhana* that utilizes the *parakīyā* sentiment by tagging itself in humble service to the *parakīyā*-*rasa* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa at Vraja. Meditation on this basis makes the *sādhana* relishable instead of dry and irksome.

(e) The *parakīyā*-*rasa*, that has been extolled by the authors of the *rasa-sāstras* and utilized by the Vaiṣṇava thinkers in connection with Śrī Kṛṣṇa on the path of *sādhana* through devotion, has been applied in the *Bhāgavata* in the love-episodes of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. For this reason, the question of marriage between Him and the Gopīs cannot arise. The special region for the exercise of the *svakīyā* *rasa* in connection with Śrī Kṛṣṇa has already been shown to be Dvārakā. But the *Purāṇas* like the *Brahma-Vaivarta* were composed when several centuries had elapsed after the publication of the *Bhāgavata*. In the later period, the *parakīyā*-love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa did not appeal to some Vaiṣṇava thinkers, and so they took to mentioning of wedlock (with details of the ceremony in some places) between the two partners in love. But that is not the objective either of the *Bhāgavata* or any other ancient treatise. Though belonging to a much later epoch, Kaviṛāja Gosvāmin, the author of the biography of Śrī Caitanya, realized the superiority of *parakīyā*-love, as an

instrument of *sādhana* under suitable limitations, through the demonstration of same in the life of Śrī Caitanya himself. The very ascetic, who was a model of self-control and the spirit of renunciation, and whose whole life was a mirror of purity, declared the *parakīyā*-love of Śrī Kṛṣṇa at Vraja as superior to all *rasas* in the path of *sādhana*, and spent the last twelve years of his life at Puri in keen yearning for communion with Kṛṣṇa at Vraja like the pining Rādhā entering into and replacing his personality. A thoughtful study of the descriptions of the subject in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* point to the conclusion that *parakīyā*-love is the highest category of love, and the application of that love to Kṛṣṇa at Vraja is tantamount to the dedication of the best flower of one's heart to His service.

(f) Those devotees who have, by reason of their competency and proclivities, adopted the *parakīyā rasa* as the basis of their service to and meditation of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, keep their minds fixed on the *līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa at Vraja. The details of this method of *sādhana* have been discussed already. But from the point of view of social welfare, it would appear that born as a human being, and belonging as he did to human society, Kṛṣṇa should not have done anything which might have exposed him to the charge of committing breaches of the rules of human society. An argument may be adduced by some in support of such breaches of rules that as he was *Svarūpa* Brahman, he was above all criticisms and immune from the stains of moral turpitude. It may however be said in answer to such an argument that as he was an exemplary character, it is only reasonable to expect that he should be free from all moral deficiencies. On this ground, Bankim Candra in his *Kṛṣṇa-caritra* (in Bengali) has rejected altogether as spurious all the episodes of *parakīyā*-love relating to Kṛṣṇa's life at Vraja. The arguments that were adduced by Śukadeva in reply to the questions put to him by Parikṣit for explanation of the activities of Kṛṣṇa relating to the Gopīs, could not dispel the doubts about the propriety of Kṛṣṇa's conduct, and do not also appeal to a rationally minded man of the present day, in condonation of acts of dubious morality of men however high-placed they may be. His activities as a human being must be judged by the moral standard applicable to all men, and any argument to the contrary is out of court. To a person professing any religion other than Vaiṣṇavism, any reasoning of opposite import will never be acceptable. In view of these considerations, it may

seem that the stories that find place in the *Bhāgavata* with Kṛṣṇa as the centre of *parakīyā-līlā* have nothing to be said in their support. This however is not the case in reality.

(g) If the episodes relating to the *madhura-līlā* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa at Vraja be taken as facts of the mental world for helping meditation, then the said problem does not arise. Should the above episode as narrated in the *Bhāgavata* be looked upon as events of the external world, then the enigma presents itself with full force. Those devotees who believe that Kṛṣṇa is *Svarūpa* Brahman, and therefore the performance of those acts as a human being stands self-condoned, then nothing need worry them in the adherence to their stolid beliefs. But on the other hand, those who want to find out a footing of reason on which to base the performance, of the deeds, and cannot believe that Śrī Kṛṣṇa born as a human being could commit the social offences at Vraja, have to seek for a different solution.

That solution lies in looking upon the episodes as facts of the mental world for making the meditation of devotees, pursuing the path of *sādhana* through *parakīyā rasa* as Mañjarī, more relishable. It is only in the way that Kṛṣṇa's character as a great man, an *avatāra*, and the *avatārin* can be reconciled with the descriptions of his amorous episodes found in the *Bhāgavata* and other Vaiṣṇava treatises.

In this connection, extracts from remarks made by Śrī Caitanya are quoted below to throw light on the viewpoint from which a devotee should look at the subject:

ब्रजवधू सङ्गे कृष्णेर रासादि विलास ।

येइ जन कहे शुने करिया विश्वास ॥

हृद्दोग-काम तार तत्काले हय क्षय ।

तिन गुण क्षोभ नहे, महाधीर हय ॥

उज्ज्वल मधुर रस प्रेम-भक्ति पाय ।

आनन्दे कृष्ण माधुर्ये विहरे सहाय ॥

ये शुने ये पढ़े तार फल एतादृशी ।

सेइ भावाविष्ट सेइ सेवे अहर्निशि ॥ (C, III, 5, 117-119)

After making the remark that Śrī Kṛṣṇa appears before the devotee in his meditation in the manner and setting desired by him, Rai

Rāmānanda quoted in support of his opinion the following *śloka* from the *Gītā* :—

ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।

मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥ (C, II, 8, 201)

The Vaiṣṇava devotees believe that in the *sādhana* as Mañjarī, the latter visualizes in reality the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa at Vraja by virtue of his devotion to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and meditation on them. Rai Rāmānanda's remark in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* given below reiterates the belief.

परिपूर्णं कृष्णप्राप्ति एव प्रेमा हैते ।

एव प्रेमार् वश कृष्ण कहे भागवते ॥ (C, II, 8, 201)

(b) That a solution can be reached in the way mentioned above finds corroboration from the hints contained in many places in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. Some such passages are given below by way of illustration:

(1) Śrī Caitanya while imparting directions to Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin regarding *sādhana* said, 'You will render services to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa at Vraja mentally.' (C, III, 6, 151)

(2) While dwelling on the *līlā* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, Rāmānanda made the statement that the Śrutis and the Upaniṣads offered, as Gopīs at Vraja, their devotion to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa by constantly meditating on their *līlā* and attained communion with them by doing so. They found shelter at the feet of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa by their services as Mañjarīs through their spiritual bodies in meditation under the leadership of Gopīs. (C, II, 8, 244)

(3) In the course of his explanation of the ideology behind Rādhā at the request of Śrī Caitanya, Rai Rāmānanda said that Rādhā is the *Hlādinī Śakti* of Kṛṣṇa (i.e. an emanation of a force from Kṛṣṇa for contributing to his bliss). The steps by which love for Kṛṣṇa becomes deeper and deeper till it reaches the stage of *mahābhāva* (the highest state of spiritual love) have been detailed previously on the basis of *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. According to Rāmānanda, the quintessence of pure love for Kṛṣṇa is Rādhā (C, II, 8, 216). After this, he has described the beauty, qualities, and good luck etc. of Rādhā. A careful perusal of the description leads to the conclusion that Rādhā as painted in the picture has been idealized. Her companions whose number ran to one hundred crores were but emanations from her person. (C, II, 8, 205, 206). The above inference about the idealization of Rādhā's qualities is supported by references to one

hundred crores of companions, absence of carnal contact between each of these married companions with her husband, and so forth. -

(i) The *līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa at Vraja has been painted in the *Bhāgavata* and other Vaiṣṇava treatises with rare beauty and sweetness. The devotee can easily derive adequate pleasure from the contemplation of the incidents of the *līlā* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cogitated as taking place in the mental Vraja of his meditation. Even if he does not regard them as facts of the external world, it does not in any way affect his devotional love. It should be noted in this connection that those devotees who take to *sādhana*s as Mañjarīs do not want to minister directly to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in their amorous *līlā*, but prefer to render their services to them under the leadership of Sakhīs by maintaining a respectful distance in regard to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa.

36. Conclusion

In conclusion, two *śloka*s of great poetic beauty delineating the extreme stage of elation felt by Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa for each other in their *parakīyā*-love are quoted here as a fitting denouement of his discourse:—

कृष्णः पुरः स्फुरति पार्वयुगे च पश्चाच्चित्तस्य वृत्तिषु दशोर्विषये च शश्वत् ।

श्रीगण्डयोश्च कुचयोस्तरले यतोऽस्याः श्रीराधिका तदिह कृष्णमयीति सत्यम् ॥

(94, 1, 649)

(In the *Govinda-līlāmṛta*, Rādhā merged in the personality of Kṛṣṇa is described as feeling the ceaseless presence of Kṛṣṇa in front, on her two sides in the rear, in her mental faculties, before her eyes, on her beauteous cheeks, breasts, and the central gem of her necklace, and so the saying that Rādhikā is made up of Kṛṣṇa's personality is true.)

Similarly, Śrī Kṛṣṇa's self being tinged with Rādhā's personality felt the whole world as permeated by her presence.

राधा पुरः स्फुरति पश्चिमतश्च राधा राधा हि सव्यमिह दक्षिणतश्च राधा ।

राधैव च क्षितितले गगने च राधा राधामयीत्यथ बभूव हरेर्ब्रिलोकी ॥

(The three worlds mirrored to Kṛṣṇa the omnipresence of Rādhā, filled as he was with her personality, and found her in front, in the rear, on the left and on the right, on the ground and in the sky, in fact, everywhere.)

MISCELLANY

The Seal of Vainya-gupta

A very small fragment of a baked red clay seal was found amid the ruins of Nālandā, and an account of it has been published in *Memoir* No. 66 of the Archaeological Survey of India, page 67. Although the seal contains only a very small portion of the last 4 lines, it has got great historical value. The last line mentions *Mahārājādhirāja* Vainya-gupta and the preceding line says that he was born of a *Mahādevī*. That leaves no doubt that he was the son of a Gupta emperor. Line 3 contained the name of his father, but, unfortunately, the seal was broken just at the point where the proper name of the father was written. This line begins with the word *guptas-tasya* (wrongly read or misprinted as *guptasya* in the *Memoir*). As the personal name must have immediately preceded it, I examined that portion with a powerful lens in order to find out whether there is any trace of the preceding letter. Fortunately, I found that immediately before the letter *gu* there is a sign of a hook-like curve open to the left at the bottom level of the line. This leaves no doubt that the preceding letter ended with a *U-kāra*. Thus, the name of the father of Vainya-gupta must have ended in *u*. Now, there are only two names which can be considered in this connection, namely, Pūru(gupta) and Viṣṇu(gupta). The latter is inadmissible on two grounds. In the first place, as *ṣṇ* is a conjunct consonant, *u-kāra* sign would naturally be much below the bottom level of the next letter as is actually the case in the seal of Viṣṇu-gupta himself. Here, however, the *u-kāra* sign is a little above the bottom level of the next letter. Secondly, as Vainya-gupta reigned in 506 A.D. and Budha-gupta's last known date is 495 A.D., we can scarcely expect Viṣṇu-gupta to be the father of Vainya-gupta, for Viṣṇu-gupta was great-grand-nephew of Budha-gupta. For these reasons, it may be regarded as almost certain that Pūru-gupta was the father of Vainya-gupta. This would mean that Pūru-gupta had at least three sons, Budha-gupta, Vainya-gupta and Narasiṃha-gupta, and it seems probable that these three reigned, one after the other, and then the throne passed to the descendants of the last. This would bring into order the present confused state of our

knowledge regarding the succession of Gupta kings after the death of Skanda-gupta and considerably advance our knowledge on the subject.

There is another small point in the seal which appears to be somewhat puzzling. Line 3 ends with the words *pādānudhyātaḥ śrī*. Now, if we compare it with the other seals and the next line in this very seal, we should expect the word *Mahādevyām* after *pādānudhyātaḥ*. The possibility of this is excluded by the *visarga* instead of *o-kāra* in the word *pādānudhyātaḥ*. It is just possible that here the name of the *Mahādevī* was omitted and the name of the king was inserted. But even in that case, we should expect the word *Mahārājādhirāja* before *śrī*. This may not have any historical significance, but, in any case, it is an interesting point to be noted, and I shall be glad if scholars would consider the two points mentioned above and give their suggestions about them.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

On the Hindu theories of Social Contract and Divine Right

Dealing with the topic of *Rājadharmā* in the third volume of his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Mm. P. V. Kane writes: (*op. cit.* p. 32): "It is not possible to hold as Jayaswal, U. Ghoshal and others do that the theory of social contract was the earlier one and that the theory of divine right of kings was later on propounded by the Manu-smṛiti to support the brāhmaṇa empire of Puṣyamitra." It is unfortunate that the learned author, while quoting the reference to two distinct works of the late Dr. Jayaswal, has neglected to cite a single passage from my book "*Hindu Political Theories*." The relevant passage in the last-named work (2nd edition, p. 125) is as follows:

"Such theories [viz. the theories of the creation of monarchy in the *Manu-saṁhitā* and the *Mahābhārata*], it seems to us, were formulated with the deliberate object of counteracting the tendencies inherent in the older ideas of the king's origin. The Buddhist theory of contract tended to strengthen a notion already familiar to Hindu political theory, namely, that the king was an official paid by his subjects for the service of protection. Such a notion could not but be repugnant to those schools and teachers who upheld, as well in the *Dharmasūtras* as in the *Arthśāstra*, the king's office as the guarantee of individual and social existence. Kauṭilya was satisfied with a modified version of the Buddhist theory which he twisted to justify

the king's authority, and backed up with the doctrine of the king's divine or semi-divine nature. But his attempt was obviously a bold makeshift and nothing more. It was, therefore, necessary that new theories of the king's origin should be propounded, involving a higher basis for the king's office than mere agreement of the people. Of such a nature, in our view, are the theories of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manu-saṃhitā* which, while grounded upon the conception of an antecedent 'state of nature', uniformly express the idea of the king's creation by Divine Will.

In the above long extract, it is observed, there is not the slightest trace of any attempted "support" of "the Brāhmaṇa empire of Pusa-mitra," or, for the matter of that of any empire whatever. Nor again is there any attempt to estimate the relative priority of the theory of social contract and that of "the divine right of kings" as such. All that is asserted is that the theory of creation of kingship in the *Manu-saṃhitā* and the *Mahābhārata* is posterior to the Buddhist theory of social contract [as reflected e.g. in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii, pp. 84-96]. This is a proposition which, we think, is not likely to be challenged. In the context from which we have quoted above, the learned author cites (*op. cit.*, pp. 32-33) a number of Vedic texts beginning with *RV. iv. 42* which, according to him, contains "the germ of the theory of Divine Right of kings." Among these texts are a few passages of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* which, according to the author's view, have been improperly relied upon in the *Hindu Political Theories* "in support of the theory of the divine right of kings." We shall presently consider how far this criticism is justified by facts, but meanwhile it is permissible to point out that the author's statement directly belies his charge relating to the supposed unwarranted assumption of priority of the social contract theory in the *Hindu Political Theories*. In truth, a reference to pp. 20 ff. of the last-named work would have convinced the learned author that all the Vedic texts cited by him including *RV. iv. 42* have been properly noticed therein. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the learned author's repeated reference to the Hindu "theory of the divine right of kings" is a little inaccurate. For between the Hindu theories of kingship and the Western doctrine of divine right of kings, as was pointed for the first time in the *Hindu Political Theories* (pp. 248-50) there are fundamental differences. In this connection it is gratifying to note that all my arguments including those based upon comparison of the four elements of the western theory (Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings*, pp. 5-6)

and its Indian counterpart have been reproduced *in toto* in Mm. Kane's chapter on *Rājadharmā* (pp. 35-36).

Coming now to the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* passages referred to above Mm. Kane says (p. 32) that they "should not be relied upon in support of the theory of the divine right of kings as done by U. Ghoshal in *Hindu Political Theories*—since every participator (whether a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya) in such solemn sacrifices as the Agniṣṭoma and the Vājapeya was supposed to possess a celestial body after *dikṣā* and Prāvargya and was often spoken of as identified with Indra and other gods." Now the comment made on the above passages in the *Hindu Political Theories* (pp. 22-23) was as follows:

"In the passages quoted above from the *Brāhmaṇas*, it will be observed, the king is associated or identified with the gods in general, and in particular with the most important deity of the Brāhmaṇa period, namely, Prajāpati, the chief of the gods. Nevertheless it seems to us that we are still far from reaching a true theory of the king's divinity. For apart from the fact that the language of the *Brāhmaṇas* is thoroughly symbolical, we have to remember that the gods themselves as conceived in the *Yajus Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* are subject to the sway of the omnipotent sacrifice. Indeed, as has been held, the sacrifice was regarded as at this period as 'a means to enter into the god-head of the gods and even to control the gods.' The gods themselves, it was thought, owed their supreme position to the sacrifice. Further, the king's divinity, such as it is, is a quality not peculiar to himself, but is shared by him with others who are equally entitled to the performance of the great sacrifices. The initiation (*dikṣā*) which is an essential preliminary to such sacrifices, it is expressly declared, results in making the sacrificer a deity."

In the above it will be noticed, the *Brāhmaṇa* passages are held to point, however imperfectly, to the theory of the king's divinity (and not that of "the divine right of kings.") In the second place, the qualification of the above theory was sought to be supported not only by the argument from the *dikṣā* ceremony to which Mm. Kane alludes, but also by other arguments. In the face of the above facts, the learned author's verdict based upon complete neglect of my arguments and of my proper conclusion cannot be regarded as an unfortunate slip.

U. N. GHOSHAL

Notes and Queries

1. *Ghaṭotkacagupta*

A seal of śrī-Ghaṭotkacagupta (without any royal title) was discovered at Basarh (ancient Vaiśālī) in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihar along with those of Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī (Dhruvadevī) queen of Candragupta II, and of her son Mahārāja Govindagupta. According to Allan, the date of these seals "may be placed towards the end of the reign of Candragupta II, the latter being still alive and Govindagupta governor of Vaiśālī for his father." He also thinks that "many of the seals are clearly those of contemporary officials of Govindagupta's court." Allan's suggestion about the date of Ghaṭotkacagupta's seal has later been proved to be true by the discovery of the Tumain inscription (dated 436 A.D.) of Ghaṭotkacagupta whose relationship with the reigning monarch Kumāragupta I is however not specified in the record.

There is a unique coin in the St. Petersburg collection with the marginal legend ending in the word *guptaḥ* and the name *Ghaṭo*° beneath the king's arm. The name of the Gupta king who issued the coin was apparently Ghaṭotkacagupta; but since "the style and weight of the coin place it about the end of the fifth century," Allan is of opinion that the coin cannot be attributed to Ghaṭotkacagupta of the Basarh seal, who belonged to an earlier date.

Mr. P. L. Gupta (*IHQ.*, XXII, pp. 316-19) has recently identified the issuer of the Basarh seal with that of the coin in the St. Petersburg collection. He refers to the theory of fratricidal war for the Gupta imperial throne after the death of Kumāragupta I and suggests that Ghaṭotkacagupta was the son and legal heir of Kumāragupta I, that he struggled for the throne with Skandagupta (and Pūrugupta?), and that he issued the coin as a token of sovereignty which he enjoyed for a few months only in 455 A.D. All of Mr. Gupta's suggestions are however mere guesses as yet unsupported by any definite evidence. It therefore seems to me too much to claim that "there is every reason to conclude that Ghaṭotkacagupta of the coin, seal and inscription is one, and he succeeded Kumāragupta I and preceded Skandagupta, and he can now be *safely* placed in the Gupta chronology between them."

The history of the imperial Guptas after Budhagupta (476-95 A.D.) is yet to be determined, and we have such names as those of Vainyagupta (507 A.D.), Bhānugupta (510 A.D.), Jayagupta, Harigupta, Candragupta, Dvādaśāditya, etc., and kings bearing titles like Bālāditya and Prakaṣāditya, none of whom can be definitely located in Gupta genealogy. If Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya is believed to have been the contemporary of Mihirakula who flourished about the first quarter of the sixth century, we cannot possibly escape the suggestion that some members of the Gupta family had carved out independent kingdoms in the declining period of Gupta history (from the middle of the last decade of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century) at least in southern Bengal and eastern Malwa, when Narasiṃhagupta, his son Kumāragupta and his grandson Viṣṇugupta were ruling in Magadha. It seems to me better to locate Ghaṭotkacagupta of the coin in this dark period of Gupta history in the end of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century until more definite evidence is forthcoming. Is it not better to wait for further evidence before accepting Ghaṭotkacagupta as a son of Kumāragupta I and as a Gupta king ruling for sometime in 455 A.D.? It may be pointed out that Ghaṭotkaca was not an uncommon name in the Gupta family and that the Tumain inscription does not advance the case much further than where Allan left it.

2. Govindagupta

In another paper of a similar nature in the same issue of the journal (*ibid.*, pp. 286-90),¹ Mr. Jagannath, standing on a suggestion of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, concludes that "Govindagupta, who had been appointed as *Yuvarāja* in the life-time of Candragupta (II), ascended the throne after the death of his father sometime about 413 A.D." and that "he enjoyed a very short rule having either died or been ousted by his brother Kumāragupta (I) in 415 A.D." None of the conclusions however can be regarded as entirely beyond doubt.

Govindagupta, already known from the Basarh seal attributing to him the subordinate title *Mahārāja*, is mentioned in the Mandasor inscription of 467 A.D. belonging to the reign of king Prabhākara of Daśapura (Mandasor). The record speaks of Dattabhaṭa, a general of Prabhā-

¹ The same paper is also published in *Proc. I.H.C.*, 1946, pp. 78-82.

kara, as the son of Vāyurakṣita who was the general of Govindagupta, son of Candragupta II. The most important passage in the epigraph refers to Govindagupta as honoured by subordinate rulers and to the lord of gods as being suspicious of Govindagupta's power.

Cf. गोविन्दवत्ख्यातगुणप्रभावं गोविन्दगुप्तोर्जितनामधेयम् ।
 वसुन्धरेशस्तनयं प्रजज्ञे स दिव्यदित्योस्तनयैः सरूपम् ॥
 यस्मिन् नृपैरस्तमितप्रतापैः शिरोभिरालिङ्गितपादपद्मैः ।
 विचारदोलां विबुधाधिपोऽपि शङ्कापरीतः समुपाहरोहः ॥
 सेनापतिस्तस्य बभूव नाम्ना वाय्वादिना रक्षितपश्चिमेन ।
 यस्यारिसेनाः समुपेत्य सेनां न कस्यचिद्धोचनमार्गमीयुः ॥

The question is whether Govindagupta can be regarded as a supreme monarch simply because reference is here made to his subordinate rulers and to his power that caused terror in the heart of Indra. As regards the first point, cases may be cited in which a subordinate ruler is also found to have enjoyed the allegiance of smaller feudatories. The Nirmand inscription, to mention only one of the many records, describes Mahā-sāmanta-Mahārāja Varuṇasena, apparently not a king of imperial rank, as अनेकसामन्तोत्तमाज्ञावनतमुकुटेमणिमयूखविच्छूरितचरणारविन्दयुगल in the same way as the Mandasor epigraph describes Govindagupta. As regards the second point about Indra's suspicion for Govindagupta's power, it is well-known that the king of gods had genuine cause of fear from Prince Meghanāda alias Indrajit, son of king Rāvaṇa, and from Prince Raghu, son of king Dīlipa, both of whom defeated him without being kings themselves. That feudatory rulers were sometimes described as equal of or superior to Indra is well-known from such records as the Gangdhar inscription of the Aulikara chief Viśvavarman (a subordinate ally² of Kumārāgupta I) dated 423 A.D.:

Cf. यो विक्रमेण च सुराधिपतिं विजिग्ये (verse 6);
 तस्मिन् प्रशासति महौ नृपतिप्रवीरे
 स्वर्गं यथा सुरपतावमितप्रभावे (verse 13).

Both the points as regards having subordinate rulers under him and being the object of Indra's fear may thus be clearly explained even if Govindagupta was merely a viceregal ruler under his father. If he was the *Yuvarāja*, as believed by Mr. Jagannath, the points are more easily explained, because the crown-prince was often regarded as sharing the imperial dignity with the reigning monarch; cf. *Raghuvamśa*, III, 36:

नरेन्द्रमूलायतनादनन्तरं तदास्पदं श्रीयुवराजसंज्ञितम् ।

अगच्छदंशेन गुणामिलाषिणी नवावतारं कमलादिवोत्पलम् ॥

We know that the Pallava crown-prince Śivaskandavarman issued orders from Kāñcī, the capital of the reigning Pallava monarch, to the governor of Andhrāpatha at Dhānyakataka. Another Pallava crown-prince, Viṣṇugopa, claims to have been प्रजासंरक्षणपरिपालनोद्योगसततसत्तव्रतदीक्षित and राजविगुणसर्वसन्दोहविजिगोषु. Of course Viṣṇugopa may have actually been in charge of a province of the Pallava dominions.³ It is therefore doubtful if Govindagupta's "description clearly indicates that Govindagupta was a *sovereign ruler* commanding the allegiance of several feudatory kings."

Govindagupta is usually believed to have been the governor of Malwa under Candragupta II. Mr. Jagannath rules out the idea, because "there was a dynasty of local rulers, the Varmans (sic. the Aulikaras), and there was no room for a governor appointed by the imperial power." The case however can hardly be so easily rejected. The Vākātaka kings are known to have appointed Senāpatīs in the capacity of Viceroy over territories including *rājyas* under *rājās*; cf. Chammak grant of Pravarasena II referring to the Bhojakaṭarājya (forming a part of the Vākātaka dominions), to the vassal chiefs Śatrughnarāja and his son Koṇḍarāja (apparently rulers of Bhojakaṭarājya) and to the Senāpati Citrarvarman (*Sel. Ins.*, I, pp. 418-25). Cf. also the case of Mātṛviṣṇu, Surāśmicandra and Budhagupta in the Eran inscription of 484 (*ibid.*, pp. 326-27). Although the political status of these feudatories was probably lower than that of the subordinate rulers of Daśapura, I think that Govindagupta may have been the viceroy of a province of his father's dominions, which comprised the territories of the Aulikaras of Mandasor. I have therefore doubts if the mention of Govindagupta in the Mandasor record "must indicate that he was at one time the suzerain of Daśapura." As a matter of fact however there is absolutely no evidence to connect Govindagupta with West Malwa. The mere fact that Dattabhāṭa was a general of king Prabhākara of Mandasor does not in the least prove

2 For the feudatory character of the Aulikaras, see Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 3, 6 and 7 with notes.

3 Cf. The position of Agnimitra, ruler of Vidiśā under Puṣyamitra, as described in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

that Dattabhaṭa's father or the latter's master Govindagupta had anything to do with Malwa.

The suggestion that Govindagupta occupied the Gupta imperial throne in 413-15 A.D. should therefore be regarded as a guess as yet unsupported by any definite evidence.

3. *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta Mahārājas*

The Mahārājas Svāmīdāsa (year 67), Bhuluṇḍa (year 107) and Rudradāsa (year 117) are described as feudatories of a Paramabhaṭṭāraka overlord whom Prof. V. V. Mirashi is inclined to identify with an unknown imperial successor of an Ābhīra Rājā named Īśvarasena, known from a Nasik inscription of the Rājā's 9th regnal year. It is further suggested that the era used by the above Mahārājas is no other than that of 248 A.D., which is supposed to have started from the first regnal year of Rājā Īśvarasena. According to Prof. Mirashi, the Mahārājas Svāmīdāsa, Bhuluṇḍa and Rudradāsa ruled in Khandesh respectively in the years 316-17, 356-57 and 366-67 A.D. Cf. *IHQ.*, XXIII, pp. 156-59.

As pointed out in my comment on this view, the palaeography of the records of the Mahārājas seems to suggest that the dates should better be referred to the Gupta era which would give for the three kings the dates 387, 427 and 437 A.D. It was further pointed out that the title Mahārāja for subordinate rulers was popularised in the age of the Gupta emperors when the supreme rulers were styled Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara. As the only known Ābhīra king was styled Rājā in his only known record, it is extremely difficult to believe that only after half a century the Rājā's successor, who is supposed to have been the overlord of a Mahārāja, was styled Paramabhaṭṭāraka and presumably also Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara, specially when *nothing* definite is known about Īśvarasena's successors and when the style *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta* cannot be traced in any pre-Gupta record. Of course any amount of conjecture is possible in regard to the Ābhīra empire about which *nothing* definite is as yet known; but a conjecture unsupported by any definite evidence hardly merits general acceptance.

The imperial Ābhīras appear entirely to be the product of imagination on the slender basis that the era of 248 A.D., probably an Ābhīra institution in its origin, was used in many places. But the use of the

Saka era is found in the eastern and southern Districts of India; does it prove that the rule of the dynasty, responsible for the institution of the Saka era, spread over these districts? The same question may be put in regard to the spread of the so-called Vikrama era. As a matter of fact the spread of an era from one country to another is variously explained. An era may spread to a foreign country not only with the expansion of the kingdom in which it is used, but also with the migration of the people using it to another country and with the annexation of the land, where it was prevalent, to another kingdom. The travel of the era of 248 A.D. to Central India is the result of the migration of the Kalacuris. The Traikūṭakas, Kalacuris, Gurjaras, Calukyās and Sendrakas used that era only after their conquest of the land where the era had been in use. This history of the era of 248 A.D. hardly proves anything about the extent of the dominions of the Ābhira king Īśvarasena and of his unknown successors. In fact there is no reason to believe that the Mahārājas in question did use this era.

Prof. Mirashi's theory is partially influenced by a doubtful and uncertain Puranic statement that 10 Ābhīra kings ruled for 167 years. But it is impossible to place these Ābhīras in the period 248-415 A.D. as that would suggest that the historical section of the Purāṇas was compiled after 415 A.D., say, about the middle of the fifth century. Had it been the case, the same section would not have referred to the Gupta kingdom as comprising only the Prayāga-on-the-Ganges, Sāketa and Magadha areas without mentioning any Gupta king by name, and to the Vākātakas only upto Pravīra (Pravarasena I) whose sons are vaguely mentioned without disclosing their names. The historical section of the Purāṇas is usually believed to have been compiled about the second quarter of the fourth century, and the Ābhīra kings referred to in it, whatever be their actual number and the actual duration of their reigns, appear to have ended their rule before that time. It is thus difficult to believe that an Ābhīra king mentioned in the Purāṇas was ruling in 366-67 A.D. as the overlord of Rudradāsa, as Prof. Mirashi would suppose.⁴

Another slender basis of Prof. Mirashi's theory is that Rudradāsa's record was discovered at Sirpur in the West Khandesh District of the

⁴ The case is made worse by the Barwani inscription of 167 (see *infra*). The Puranic statement seems actually to assign 67 years to 10 Ābhīra kings.

Bombay Presidency. He has made an attempt to locate the capital of some of the above kings in Khandesh and designated the kings as "Mahārājas of Khandesh." While pointing out that I do not consider Gupta penetration in Khandesh before the Gupta year 67 (387 A.D.) as impossible, I submitted that the location of the territories of the above kings has not yet been proved beyond doubt. If Rudradāsa's grant was found in Khandesh, the records of Svāmīdāsa and Bhulūṇḍa were got from a Brāhmaṇa of Indore. It is moreover well-known that copper-plate charters sometimes travelled from one place to another. As regards the identification of some of the places mentioned in the records with those in Khandesh, one may get place-names of similar sounds in any country in which he is bent on locating them. Compare the location of Mānapura (mentioned in the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu) proposed by different writers.

I suggested that the so-called Mahārājas of Khandesh may have actually ruled in the Anūpa region on the Narmadā, which had its capital at Māhiṣmatī, modern Mahesvar in the Indore State. My suggestion was influenced by the facts that, as late as the time of Budhagupta's Eran inscription dated 484 A.D., one of the provinces of the Gupta empire extended as far as the Narmadā (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 327) and that the Barawani grant of Mahārāja Subandhu, dated in the year 167 undoubtedly of the era used by Svāmīdāsa, Bhulūṇḍa and Rudradāsa, was issued from the city of Māhiṣmatī. Although Mahārāja Subandhu does not characterise himself as *Paramabhṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*, possibly because in the Gupta year 167 (487 A.D.) imperial Gupta hold on the outlying regions grew weaker, there is little doubt that his Barawani and Bagh records are of the same nature as those of the Mahārājas Svāmīdāsa, Bhulūṇḍa and Rudradāsa.

In conclusion I frankly admit that it is impossible for me to believe that a single inscription of an Ābhīra Rājā, a doubtful reference to the Ābhīra rulers in the Purāṇas and the spread of an era supposed to be of Ābhīra origin are sufficient for the reconstruction of the glorious history of the Ābhīras in the way Prof. Mirashi has done, specially in view of the fact that the style *Paramabhṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta* can hardly be expected in pre-Gupta records. It will be wise for us to wait for further evidence before accepting Prof. Mirashi's conclusions which are as yet unsupported by any definite evidence.

4. *The Kulācala Malaya*

The evidence of the Purāṇas definitely locates the Kulācala or Kulaparvata (literally, a mountain associated with certain tribes) called Malaya, which was the source of the Tāmraparṇī and Kṛtamālā (Vaigai) rivers running through the Pāṇḍya country, at the extreme south end of the Western Ghats. The name of this mountain no doubt lies at the root of the names Malayalam and Malabar; but Dr. C. Kunhan Raja (Cf. *IHQ.*, XXIII, p. 69) refers to certain "conflicting evidences" that would suggest the location of the Malaya elsewhere. As a matter of fact however the Kula (tribe) mountain called Malaya cannot be located in any other place excepting the southern end of the Western Ghats although there were probably other hills called Malaya which may have given rise to the "conflicting evidences." We know that the hilly region of Central Ceylon was known by the name Malaya and one of the heirs of the Ceylonese king was often styled Malayarāja. A Viṣṇukunḍin inscription speaks of Prince Mādhavavarman II, who had his headquarters at Amarapura (i.e. Amarāvātī near Bezwāḍa), as Tri-kūṭa-Malayādhipati, probably indicating "governor of the provinces of Tri-kūṭa and Malaya." Since the name *Malaya* is derived from the Dravidian word *malai* meaning hill, it is not improbable that this word lying at the end of the names of certain south Indian hills was often Sanskritised as *malaya* and thus gave rise to a confusion. The tendency of Sanskritisation is still noticed in the name Madramaṇḍala applied to the Madras Presidency (inspite of the fact that the ancient Madra people lived in the Panjab with their capital at Śākala, i.e. modern Sialkot), and we can understand the working of the mind of a Sanskritist if he would refer to Tīrumalai and Annamalai respectively as Śrīmalaya (or Trīmalaya) and Annamalaya. But there is absolutely no doubt as to the location of the celebrated Malaya Kulācala (Kulaparvata) at the southern end of the Western Ghats.

5. *Kuntala and the Māna Country in South Mahārāṣṭra*

I have read with interest Prof. V. V. Mirashi's comments on my views in his note (*IHQ.*, XXIII, pp. 320-22) on the identification of the Kuntala and Aśmaka countries. I am sorry to find that the learned Professor has not taken into consideration all the arguments offered by me. He has nothing to say, as for instance, about the tenth century inscription

(*El.*, XXII, p. 132) which mentions the king of Kuntala as residing at Vanavāsa. This is one of the several evidences showing that the Kuntala country proper had its capital at Banavāsi and corresponded to the district round that city. In any case it seems that both Prof. Mirashi and myself have finished our arguments in regard to the identification of Kuntala and Aśmaka and that it is for the world of scholars now to give its judgment in this case.

The country round the city of Mānapura, founded by Mānāṅka, appears to have been known in the early medieval period as Mānadeśa which included modern Velapur about eleven *kos* to the west of Pandharpur (possibly the same as Pāṇḍuraṅgapallī mentioned in the record of Mānāṅka's grandson Avidheya) in the Sholapur District of the South Maratha country. Cf. *mānadeśa-saṃbaddha-velāpura*, *mānadeśa-saṃbaddha-sarvādhikārī brahmadeva-rāṇā*, etc. in the three Velapur inscriptions (1300 and 1305 A.D.) of the Yādava king Rāmacandra of Devagiri in G. H. Khare's *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan*. vol. I, pp. 78-80; vol. II, p. 9.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

REVIEWS

BANGALAY BAUDDHA-DHARMA by Nalininath Das Gupta, 265 pages. Calcutta 1948.

The object of the work is to present a connected history of Buddhism in Bengal from its inception to disappearance. In the Introduction and the first chapter he gives a bird's-eye view of the growth of the religion in India and brings together all the evidences, traditional or otherwise, in order to associate Buddhism with Bengal. By far the best and the longest chapters are the second and the third, in which he deals with the career of the religion in Bengal during the Gupta and the Pala periods. In the last two chapters he offers an account of the Buddhist monasteries that grew up in Bengal as academic centres and of the last phase of Buddhism as depicted in the old Bengali literature. The author has made a valuable contribution to our stock of knowledge by his critical examination of the available inscriptional evidences and the finds of images in the different localities of Bengal. It is rather striking that so many images of Buddhist gods and goddesses have been discovered in the different places of Bengal, and some of them are presented in this work for the first time. He has touched also the religious and philosophical aspects of the religion. His statements are all supported by sound evidences and we may say we have in this work an authentic history of the religion in Bengal. He has written the work in Bengali and has tried his best to make the readers feel that it is not a serious treatise on history or religion. Though the Buddhist religion and literature are Indian in origin and development and moulded the culture of Bengal to a large extent, our countrymen are very ill informed of the same on account of the lack of good readable books like the present one, and we hope that more works of this type will be forthcoming to enlighten our countrymen about the great cultural importance of this religious movement.

N. DUTT

THE DUTCH IN BENGAL AND BIHAR. By Dr. Kalikinkar Dutta, M.A., Ph.D. University of Patna. 1948.

The story of the expulsion of the French from Bengal may be read in the works of Orme, Malleeson and Hill, but the history of the gradual

elimination of the Dutch was so long not adequately known to us. Dr. K. K. Dutta, whose works on 18th century Bengal have secured for him a place among the leading writers on Modern Indian History, has given in the volume under review a fairly comprehensive survey of this neglected subject. Although circumstances beyond his control have prevented him from utilizing all relevant materials scattered in the archives of Europe, he has carefully pieced together bits of information culled from a variety of sources available in our country.

The volume covers the period 1740-1825. Chapter I deals with the early history of the Dutch in Bengal. Chapter II gives an admirably clear review of the critical months of 1756-'57. In Chapter III we have the best available account of Bedara. The next chapter deals with the period 1759-'72. Chapter V describes Warren Hastings' policy towards the Dutch. The two remaining chapters survey the concluding period, 1784-1825. The Appendices contain extracts from valuable unpublished records which will be of great help to scholars interested in this subject. The Bibliography is useful and exhaustive.

A. C. BANERJEE

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS, Vol. I: 1757-1858. Revised and Enlarged second edition. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Dr. Anil Chandra Banerjee M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. Calcutta, 1948.

This is the second edition of a very useful and scholarly work which was originally published three years ago. It contains all important documents relating to the development of the Indian Constitution under the East India Company. Dr. Banerjee has not included in his selection only the great legislative enactments like the Regulating Act, Pitt's India Act and the Charter Acts. For the proper comprehension of historical and constitutional development he has collected documents of various types: speeches, despatches, minutes, diaries, private letters, treaties, etc. It is satisfactory to find that administrative history has been given due prominence. One of the most useful features of the book is a collection of documents relating to the Indian States. Dr. Banerjee has added notes and references to explain the documents, and his brief but illuminating *Introduction* surveys the broad features of the constitutional history of the period.

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
vol. XXVIII, pts. 1-II (1947).

- N. VENKATARAMANAYYA.—*Muslim Historians on Muḥammad Shāh Bahmany I's War with Vijayanagara*. Accounts given by some of the Muslim historians like Kafi Khān and Ferishta go to show that Sultan Muḥammad Shāh I, won a decisive victory over the Rāya of Vijayanagara in two battles. Facts discussed in the paper prove that there was only one battle, which ended 'quite unfavourably to the Sultan.'
- P. K. GODE.—*Studies in the History of Indian Plants—History of Mendi or Henna (between B.C. 2000 and A.D. 1850)*.
- BETTY HEIMAN.—*Kathenotheism and Dānastutis*. A tendency is noticeable in the composition of the Vedic seers to take in turn one deity 'as momentarily the supreme.' This is regarded by some interpreters of Vedic religion as the result of a more materialistic than religious outlook. They take these Vedic laudations as gross flattery resorted to by the poets for winning divine favour like the *Dānastutis* which were composed for pleasing the worldly benefactors. The contention of the present paper is that the said tendency represents the profound religious faith acknowledging that "the one divine principle may be grasped under various accidental personal names."
- P. S. SASTRI.—*Figures of Speech in the R̥gveda*. The Vedic poets had a good aesthetic sense. The figures of speech *upamā*, *utprekṣā*, *rūpaka* and *atīṣayokti* are quite frequent in the *R̥gveda* where cases of other well-known *alaṃkāras* like *vibhāvanā*, *viśeṣokti*, *ullekha*, *paryāyokti*, *nidarśanā* and *ākṣepa* are also found.
- P. R. CHIDAMBARA IYER.—*The Year of the Bhārata War as disclosed by Bhīṣma Chronogram मुञ्चतिगात्रम्*. The writer of the paper believes that the texts of the *Mahābhārata* contain in them chronological information couched in sentences composed in the *Kaṭapayādi* system of alphabetical notation. The date of Bhīṣma's death can thus be detected in the expression *muñcatigātram*, "which is equal to 23665 days from the beginning of the Kaliyuga" which again turns to be the year 3038 B.C.
- K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.—*The Place of the Arthaśāstra in the Lite-*

ature of Indian Polity. The writer points out some ideas and institutions which he describes in the paper as having been first introduced in the political life of India by Kauṭilya. They had not been found in any prominence in the old writings of Sanskrit authors before or after the Maurya period. The exaltation of the royal power, the elaboration of a complex bureaucracy and the creation of a special class of criminal courts are peculiar to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* borrowed and adapted, according to the writer, from the Hellenistic models.

K. V. ABHYANKAR.—*Omission and Repetition of the Tithis or Lunar Days.* The article gives 'a brief historical perspective of the practice of the omission (क्षय) and repetition (वृद्धि) of Tithis or lunar days in the Vedic Calendar followed in India for calculating years, months, and days.'

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA.—*Date and works of Vāgbhaṭa the Physician.* Four medical treatises viz. *Aṣṭāṅga-saṃgraha*, *Madhyasambhitā*, *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* and *Rasaratna-samuccaya* also called respectively *Vṛddha-Vāgbhaṭa*, *Madhya-Vāgbhaṭa*, *Svalpa-Vāgbhaṭa*, and *Rasa-Vāgbhaṭa* are attributed to Vāgbhaṭa. The paper gives an idea of the contents of the *Madhyasambhitā* which being totally lost is now known from quotations only. The discussions in the paper go to show that all the four works were written by the same individual who flourished in the 9th century A.C. in Mahājāhnu (Majhanda) 'in the Karachi district, about 50 miles north of Haiderabad in Sindh on the west bank of the Indus.'

**Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London, vol. XII, pt. 2.**

H. W. BALLEY.—*Irano-Indica.* (Word relation).

JOHN BROUGH.—*Legends of Khotan and Nepal.* The legendary tradition that 'at one time the land was a lake' is common to the Buddhist part of Khotan and the country of Nepal. It is conjectured that the legend migrated to Nepal through some influential Tibetan Lama.

ALFRED MASTER.—*Indo-Aryan and Dravidian.* The philological discussion in the paper has been set under two principal headings (a) '*Syncope and Aphrasis with Compensation in Telugu and Kui* and (b) '*Aphrasis in Tulu and Some Loan words.*

T. BURROW.—*Dravidian Studies VII.* An analysis of a considerable

number of words in Sanskrit reveals the extent of Dravidian influence on the language.

जैन-सिद्धान्त-भास्कर (भाग २८, किरण ७)

Jaina Antiquary, XIII, No. 2

PARAMANANDA SASTRI.—ग्वालियर में जैन पुरातत्व (*Jain Antiquity in Gwalior*).

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN.—विश्व इतिहास और भूगोल के लिये जैन-साहित्य की महत्ता (*Importance of Jain Literature in the Domain of History and Geography of the World*).

GOVINDARAY JAIN SASTRI.—नीतिवाक्यामृत और उसके कर्ता (*The Nītivākyaṃṛta and its Author*). Somadeva Sūri, the author of the *Nītivākyaṃṛta* was a Jaina scholar whose literary activity continued from the 3rd quarter of the 9th century to the first quarter of the 10th.

AGARCHAND NAHATA.—भावदेव सूरि एवं लाहौर के सुलतान सम्बन्धी विशेष ज्ञातव्य (*Notes on the Relation between Bhāvadeva Sūri and the Sultan of Lahore*).

A. N. UPADHYE.—*A Paṭṭāvali of the Senagaṇa*. The *Paṭṭāvali* is now published for the first time.

S. SRIKANTA SASTRI.—*The Date of Śrīdharācārya*. Śrīdharācārya, the author of the *Jātakatilaka* in Kannada is assigned to the 11th century. It is contended that this author could not have written the *Lilāpati* (another Kannada treatise on Astrology) or the *Jyotirjñānavidhi* (in Sanskrit).

HARISATYA BHATTACHARYA.—*Heroes of the Jain Legends*.

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN.—*The Jain Chronology*. Important events of the Jaina history chronicle in this instalment of the paper cover the period between 662 A.C. and 800 A.C.

Journal of the Bihar Research Society, vol. XXXIII,
parts, III & IV (1947).

G. RAMDAS.—*The Gāṅgeya Pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṃvatsara-prārambhah*. A branch of the Bhāraṣiva Nāgas grew powerful in the middle of the 4th century A.C., and under the name of Gaṅgas founded a kingdom in the region lying to the east of the river Wain-gaṅga. The initial year of the era started by these Gaṅgas is suggested to have been 349 A.C.

S. C. SARKAR.—*Catalogue of Miscellaneous Tibetan Xylograph Work in the Bihar Research Society Library, Patna.*

PRIYATOSH BANERJEE.—*A Mediæval Bronze Sculpture of Aparachana from Nepal.* The brone image described here represents the Buddhist Aparachana, a pupular variety of Mañjuśrī. It was found in Nepal and is now at Patna. The sculpture is in the form of a lotus with the figure of Aparachana occupying the centre, and eight petals standing on a pedestal. The petals of the lotus were so skilfully set by the artist that they can be opened and closed at will. Each of the petals contains a figure of a deity in relief in its inner concave side.

HARIRANJAN GHOSHAL.—*Currency Situation in Bengal at the End of the Eighteenth Century.*

RADHAKRISHNA CHAUDHARY.—*Conception of Law in Ancient India.*

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,
vol. V, part 1, (November, 1947).

S. K. DE.—*Rājaśekhara.* This is an account of the writings of Rājaśekhara with a full discussion of their merits and demerits.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA.—*Tvantopādhyāya.* Tvantopādhyāya, hitherto an unknown name, is now known to have been a Nyāya scholar of Mithilā, who wrote commentaries on Gaṅgeśa's *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* and Udayana's *Kusumāñjali* in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

SAMPURANAND.—*Ethics of the Upaniṣads.*

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*Aim and Scope of Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra.* The correct knowledge of the difficult Vedic texts is to be acquired by the student through the aid of the *Mīmāṃsāsāstra* containing rules of interpretation that can suggest the true meanings of the ambiguous and doubtful texts.

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The Ms. of Asanga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya*

The fragmentary text of the *Abhidharma Samuccaya*, supposed to be lost, was for the first time discovered by M. P. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana in Tibet and the photo was brought by him. Both the Chinese and the Tibetan translations of the texts are available. It was translated into Chinese by Huen Tsang in 652 A.D. in seven fasciculi, 2 divisions and 8 chapters. (Nanjio 1199). In Chinese, it is called Tā-shan-o-phi-tā-mo-tsi-lun and wrongly restored into Sanskrit as *Mahāyānābhidharmasaṅgītīśāstra*. The title is given correctly as *Abhidharma-samuccaya* in the Kanjur and Tanjur catalogue (Tohoku Edn. No. 4049:). In Tibetan, it is called Chos-mñon-pa-kun-las-bdus-pa. The translators were Jinamitra, Śilendrabodhi and Yes-ses-sde (Jñānasena).

Fortunately, the *Abhidharma-samuccaya-bhāṣya*, also discovered for the first time in Tibet by Rāhulaji, is complete. The marking tablet of the photo of this MS. contains 'अभिस. स. टीका' which should be अभिध. स. भाष्य. This is entered in the list as "XV.I.86 सांख्य त्रिनिश्रय from अभिधर्म समुच्चयभाष्य T. (यशमित्त). (J.B. & O.R.S., vol. XXI, p. 35). This also has the Chinese translation by Huen Tsang (Nanjio 1178) and the Tibetan translation by Jinamitra and Yes-ses-sde (Kanjur and Tanjur catalogue No. 4054). From these translations, it appears that the commentator was not Yaśomitra, but Sthiramati (Taisho Catalogue 1606). On the examination of the manuscript, it is found that this is the complete Bhāṣya on the

1 I am very much thankful to the Bihar Research Society for the kind permission they have given me to work on it and to publish the text by the Resolution No. 6a, of the Council meeting of the 28th July 1946 (B.R.S.J., 1946 vol. XXXII, p. 345).

whole of the book and only the 5th chapter is called *Sāṃkathya-viniścaya*, which will be discussed later on. The information in the Nanjio's Catalogue that these two works are wanting in the Tibetan translation seems to be incorrect.

In the present paper, I propose to give a detailed account of the Ms. of the *Abhidharma-samuccaya* only. The photos of this fragmentary manuscript were brought by our great Pandit and great explorer Rāhula Sāṅkrītyāyana from Tibet in his second tour in 1934. The photos are kept in the Library of the Bihar Research Society, Patna and I was permitted to work on it and to take a reprint of this photo from the negatives, also deposited there. The original manuscript is in the Shalu Monastery in Tibet as reported by Rāhulaji. Therefore, in this matter only the notes of Rāhulaji are our guide. About this manuscript he writes that the script is Māgadhī, size $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2$, leaves 17, lines on each leaf 7 and it is incomplete. Further he gives a note below:—"Only leaves Nos. 3-7, 10-14, 16, 17, 31, 33, 36, 42 are found. The Ms. begins:—"जिह्वाकायमनः संस्पर्शजा संज्ञा यथा सनिमित्तमपि संजानाति अनिमित्तमपि परोत्तममपि महद्गतमपि ।" "On page 16b—अभिधर्मसमुच्चये लक्षणसमुच्चयो नाम प्रथमः समुच्चयः ।". It is one of the three basic texts of Yogācāra school. (*J.B. & O.R.S.*, vol. XXIII, 1937, p. 48).

Only 17 leaves of the manuscript have been found. These are arranged on four pages of the photographs. The obverse is marked as 'A' and the reverse 'B'.

Of these 17 leaves available, 3 leaves are damaged affecting some of the letters of the text. The lost portions are recoverable from the Chinese and Tibetan translations.

On comparison of the texts with the Chinese and Tibetan translations, it appears that there are a few missing leaves and that the leaves should be re-arranged.

These leaves are not consecutive. Neither beginning nor the end, nor any colophon is available. Therefore it is very difficult to say anything about the division of the chapters. In the text, only one chapter-ending is noted by Rāhulaji. On 2B₂ or the reverse of the 16th leaf there is a line, अभिधर्मसमुच्चये लक्षणसमुच्चयो नाम प्रथमः समुच्चयः. On 2B₆, or the 36th leaf, at the end, there is this much only, 'अभिधर्मसमुच्चये धर्मवि' and just after this, two leaves are missing. Therefore it does not indicate what chapter it is. In the Chinese and Tibetan translations, at the beginning there

are two verses, which deal with the contents of the book and give some indication about the arrangement of the chapters. From this it appears that this book was divided into two main divisions such as 'Fundamental Section (Mūla-vastu),² and 'Interpretation' (Vinīścaya). Again each of these two is divided into four divisions or chapters such as 'Three Dharmas', 'Collection or Saṃgraha', 'Union or Saṃprayoga', and 'Accompaniment or Samanvāgama' and 'Truth or Satya', 'Dharma' 'Combination or Prāpti' and 'Exposition' or 'Sāṃkathya'. Thus there are mainly eight chapters in Chinese, which is mentioned also in Nanjio's Catalogue, though the first has 3 subdivisions, the 5th has 4 subdivisions and 7th has two subdivisions. But here rises another question. In the colophon of the commentary of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, there is "अभिधर्म-समुच्चये भाष्यतः सांख्यविनिश्चयो नाम पञ्चमस्समुच्चयः समाप्तः ॥ ७ ॥ लिखितमिदं परिहृतवैय ॥ ॥ श्रीअमरचन्द्रेण जगद्गुरुत्वसंपदे ॥ इति ॥ From this it appears that the original Sanskrit text which was followed by the commentator was divided into five chapters. This chapter division was followed by the Tibetan translator also. But in the text there is no trace of the ending of any other chapter anywhere else. Then how to explain the discrepancy of eight chapters in Chinese and five in the commentary? The 5th or the last chapter which is called (Sāṃkathya Vinīścaya) in the commentary was probably called the same as appears from the translation of the opening verses and also from the heading in the Chinese translation. Therefore there is no doubt that the last chapter is Sāṃkathya Vinīścaya and the 5th of the commentary and the 8th of the Chinese are identical. In the Chinese translation, the name and number of the chapter is given at the beginning of the chapter, whereas in the Sanskrit it is given at the end, which is clear from the quotations given above. Fortunately, we find two sentences—one complete and another incomplete, to indicate the ending of the chapter in Sanskrit, the previous one of which comes just where the first four chapters of the Chinese end. Therefore we may safely conclude that the first chapter of the Sanskrit is divided into four chapters in Chinese. The second sentence, i.e. 'Abhidharmma Samuccaya Dharmavi' comes just where the 6th

² This was probably called 'लक्षण समुच्चय' in Sanskrit as appears from the following discussion.

chapter of the Chinese ends. Therefore the rest four are counted four both in Sanskrit and Chinese. Thus in the commentary and probably in the original Sanskrit this book was divided into five chapters, but into eight in Chinese, probably by Huen Tsang. The plan of the division of the five chapters is adopted in the Tibetan translation also according to the Sanskrit text.

The general style of the book is in the form of questions and answers. First the question such as 'how many'; 'how' 'why' etc. are put and then the answer is given. In this book mainly the Abhidharma terms are explained in detail. To give a brief account of this book, we may follow the Chinese line of the division of the eight chapters. Of these eight the first as already told, is the Tridharma. This has 3 sub-divisions. In the first sub-division, the Skandhas, the Dhātus, and the Āyatanas are counted first and then the number is justified e.g. why the Skandhas are five, the Dhātus are eighteen and the Āyatanas are twelve. Then follows the discussion on the inclusion (vyavasthāna) of Rūpa-skandha, Vedanā-skandha, Samjñā-skandha, Saṃskāra-skandha—in mental (citta-saṃprayukta) and non-mental (citta-viprayukta) Saṃskāras—Vijñāna-skandha and Āyatana. After this the meaning of the word Dhātu is given.

In the second sub-division, as regards these three things, i.e. the Skandhas, Dhātus and Āyatanas, a long series of topics are examined with reference to three questions such as what (Katham), how many (Kati) and what for (Kimartham.....parikṣā). The same plan is continued in the 3rd sub-division also. In the second, Dravyamat, Prajñaptimat, Samvṛtimat, Paramārthamat, Jñeya, Vijñeya etc. are discussed and in the third, Pratyaya, Sabhāga-tatsabhāga, Upātta etc. Further these three are, from different aspects, divided into three kinds such as Parikalpita-lakṣaṇa, Vikalpita-lakṣaṇa and Dharmatā-lakṣaṇa, or four kinds such as Lakṣaṇa, Prakāra, Āśraya and Santati or again six kinds and so on.

Of this chapter, only ten leaves of the original text are available, and these leaves, as already stated, are not consecutive. In this manuscript, of the first sub-division of the 1st chapter, there is available only that portion of the text dealing with the explanation of the exposition of the Samjñā-skandha and not the question and few words probably such as 'संज्ञास्कन्धव्यवस्थानं कतमत । चक्षुःसंस्पर्शजा संज्ञा । श्रोत्रग्राह' beginning with 'जिह्वाकायमनःसंस्पर्शजा संज्ञा' etc, the explanation

of Saṃskāra-skandha-vyavasthāna, under it dealing with the division and explanation of 52 Caitasika dharmas such as Manaskāra, Spārśa, Chanda etc. and the 23 Citta-viprayukta-saṃskāras such as Prāpti, Asaṃjñi-samāpatti, Nirodhasamāpatti etc. and the explanation of Vijñāna-skandha-vyavasthāna, consisting of Citta, Manas and Vijñāna with the explanation of each, which is available just up to the question 'प्राणविज्ञानं कतमत्'. Of this part, only three leaves are available, both the beginning and the end are missing.

Of the 6th chapter, only one leaf of the end is available dealing with the question how one becomes efficient in Dharma, in meaning, in explanation etc. or why to Bodhisattva-piṭaka is attributed Vaipulya (greatness) or Audārya (sublimity) or Gāmbhīrya (depth) or why some beings in Vaipulya feel attached to these two or some do not and then follows the enumeration of 28 kinds of Asaḍḍṛṣṭis or wrong views and the explanation of a few characteristics of Vaipulya continuing up to the end of the 6th chapter.

In the 7th chapter, 'Prāpti or combination' is discussed. This chapter is called Prāpti-viniścaya and it is further sub-divided into two subdivisions, dealing with 2 divisions of Prāpti on account of Pudgala-vyavasthāna and Abhisamaya-vyavasthāna. The first is divided into seven kinds on account of Rogacarita, Niryaṇa, Adhiṣṭhāna, Prayoga, Phala, Dhātu and Bhāvanā and each of them is further divided and explained. The second or the Abhisamaya is divided into ten kinds, i.e., that of Dharma, Artha, Tattva, Pṛṣṭha, Ratna, Asamudācāra, Niṣṭhā, Śrāvaka, Pratyekabuddha and Bodhisattva and again each is explained especially the last one in much detail.

Of the 7th chapter, two leaves are available, one of the middle of the first sub-division and the second of the middle of the 2nd sub-division. The Pudgala from the point of view of Prayoga or application is of two kinds such as 'Śradhānusārin or the follower of faith' and 'Dharmānusārin or the follower of Dharma' and from the point of view of Phala or fruit, is of 27 kinds such as Śradhādhimukta, Drṣṭiprāpta, Kāyasākṣin etc. In the first of these two leaves, these two topics are dealt with upto the Anabhisamkāra-parinirvāyin, the 19th of the 2nd topic.

In the 2nd sub-division of this chapter under the last of the topic, there are given the 19 extraordinary qualities of Bodhisattva such as Apramāṇa, Vimokṣa, Abhibhāvātana etc. In the text of

the 2nd leaf of these two leaves, these qualities are divided into two kinds such as Svakāritra-pratyupasthāna and Vaihārika and it is shown, what he does by these qualities. Further it is said that the previous path is given up when the following superior path is obtained till in the Nirvāṇadhātu in which no Skandhas remain, all the paths are given up by Srāvaka and Pratyeka-buddha, but not by Bodhisattva as he has endless auspicious things and endless merits. Further it is said why a Bodhisattva does not become a Srotāpanna, Sakṛdāgāmin, Anāgāmin and after it the leaves are missing even including those containing the 8th chapter.

The last one i.e. the 8th chapter is Sāṃkathya-viniścaya. This is divided into 7 kinds such as Artha-viniścaya, Vyākhyā Prabhidyasamdarśana-, Sampraśna-, Saṃgraha, Vāda-, and Abhisandhi-viniścaya and as usual each is further divided and explained. Of this chapter nothing is available in this ms.

Besides a few quotations in this available ms. some of which may be traced in the Pāli text in the Pali form, there is a reference to a book called *Mahādharma-mādarśa Dharmaparyāya* in 2A₈. The passage runs thus:— इदं च सन्धायोक्तं भगवता महाधर्मादर्शे धर्मपर्याये बोधिसत्त्वस्य यथास्तमयोनिशो धर्मान् विचिन्वतः अष्टविंशतिरसदृश्य उत्पद्यन्ते । In Nanjio's Catalogue No. 33 there is a book called *Fo-shwo-fo-ciñ-ciñ*, which is identical with the Chinese translation of Dharmādarśa by Huen Tsang with addition of ciñ or sūtra which comes for Dharmaparyāya also. But it is difficult to explain how it is rendered into Sanskrit as Ugra-paripṛcchā in Nanjio's Catalogue. However, I could not trace such a passage in that book. In Tibetan, there is no book called like that, but there is a book called 'Chos-kyi-rnam-graṃs or Dharmaparyāya (Kanjur and Tanjur Catalogue Tohoku edition, No. 4363). I examined this book also, but could not find any passage like that. This Dharmaparyāya does not seem to be a Sūtra and it is a book like *Dharmasaṃgraha*, edited by Max Müller.

There is another reference to Mahāyāna Abhidharma Sūtra in the missing portion, but it is very difficult to say exactly which book is referred to.

The book is referred to in *Abhisamayalamkāraloka* by the name *Abhidharma-samuccaya* and a passage is quoted. In the *Tṛṃśikā Bhāṣya*, the name of the book is not given, but many passages

are taken from it and explained. For illustration a passage may be quoted. In the *Tr-Bhāṣya* we see:—तत्र स्पर्शत्रिकसन्निपाते इन्द्रियविकार-परिच्छेदः वेदनासन्निधयकर्मकः । and it is explained as इन्द्रियविषयविज्ञानानि तीत्येव त्रिकं तस्य कार्यकारणभावेन समवस्थानं त्रिकसन्निपातः and so on. In this book, we have स्पर्शः कृतमः । त्रिकसन्निपाते इन्द्रियविकारपरिच्छेदः । वेदनासन्निधयदानकर्मकः । Such parallel passages are numerous which are fully dealt with, in the introduction of the book. They suggest some different readings also as we see here that दान is omitted in the *Tr-Bhāṣya*. The view quoted there by एवं त्वन्ये मन्यन्ते (p. 20) also seems to refer to the author of the book as “शुभाशुभानां कर्मणां फलविपाकं प्रत्यनुभवन्त्यनेनेत्यनुभवः” can be traced in it.

As regards the commentary of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* I have finished the copy of it. With the help of this commentary, I have also finished the restoration rather retranslation of the missing portion into Sanskrit from the Chinese and Tibetan translations and this will be published soon in the *Annals* of the Cheenabhavan of the Visva-bharati, Santiniketan.

PAHRLAD PRADHAN

The Puranic data on the original Home of the Indo-Aryans

Problem tackled from a wrong angle

So far the majority of Indologists have tackled the problem of the original home of the Indo-Aryans on the basis of the following very important, but not conclusively proved, assumptions:¹

- (i) There was originally a uniform Aryan race, the branches of which subsequently spread to various countries of Europe and Asia, the Indo-Aryans being one of them.
- (ii) The original Aryan race was speaking a language, the various streams of which flowed along with the migrating branches of the original stock.
- (iii) The original home of the Aryan race can be traced back through linguistic streams to the common habitat of the Aryan peoples.

These assumptions have been seriously challenged. Like the monogenic origin of man the existence of a uniform Aryan race has been questioned. Therefore, the problem of the Indo-Aryans need not be linked up with the problem of the origin of the so-called Aryans of Europe, who were not called Aryans before the philological studies were started in the nineteenth century A.D. It is only fair that we should make an independent attempt in seeking the origin of the Indo-Aryans. The second assumption that linguistic affinity indicates a racial unity has also been disapproved. The third assumption is based on linguistic data of a highly speculative character, which are used by different contestant schools to prove different original homes of the Aryans. In the humble opinion of the present writer linguistic and philological evidences are very incomplete and shaky and any conclusions derived from them will suffer from their inherent defects. Languages contain words indicative of persons, objects and events, which belong to different periods of time and climes and yet they are used together at a particular time. Pieced together they can present a picture but it will be a composite one and it can be far removed from reality. Philological and

¹ G. Childe, *The Aryans*; Isaac Taylor, *Origin of the Aryans*; P. Giles, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, pp. 66 ff.

linguistic evidences can have only corroborative and supplementary value; they cannot have the sole constructive value unless all the direct and chronologically connected evidences are dried up. It cannot be maintained that the direct sources of the early history of the Indo-Aryans are non-existent and, therefore, we have to depend upon indirect casual and incidental evidences of philology.

The right approach through the Purāṇas

In the following lines an attempt has been made to show that a systematically connected history of the Indo-Aryans has been preserved in the Purāṇas and that they contain direct evidences on the problem of the original home of the Indo-Aryans. According to the Indian tradition² a study of the Purāṇas is essential even for the understanding of the Vedic and allied literature, on the basis of which the early history of the Indo-Aryans has been generally so far written. The force behind this tradition is that while the Purāṇas contain a systematic and chronologically continuous history of the Indo-Aryans, the Vedic literature, essentially being poetic, ritualistic and philosophical, furnishes incidental, sporadic, and scanty references, which can be understood in their true contexts only with the help of the Purāṇas. An independent study of the Purāṇas leads to conclusion, regarding the original home of the Indo-Aryans, quite different from inferences drawn from philological researches.

The Purāṇic data on the problem can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. *The Rise of the Indo-Aryans in Mid-India (Madhyadeśa)*

- (1) The Indo-Aryans, from the very beginning of their history, were in possession of the slopes of the Himalayas and the major portion of northern India (excluding North-West and North-East). These constituted the earth (=land) of Manu, the first historical king of the Aryans.³
- (2) Manu's eldest son Ikṣvāku ruled at Ayodhyā, which was the capital of his father also, on the bank of the Sarayū river. He was the founder of the main line of the Sūrya-vaṃśa (Solar Family).⁴

² *Vāyupurāṇa*, i. 200-1.

³ *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, iii, 20, 2-3.

⁴ *Vāyupurāṇa*, 85, 20-1.

- (3) An Aryan family matrimonially allied with the family of Manu through his daughter Ilā established a dynasty at Pratiṣṭhāna (= Jhansi near Allahabad) on the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. Aila (born of Ilā) Purūravas, the grandson of Manu through his daughter, was the founder of the Aila or Candravamśa (Lunar Family).⁵
- (4) Another Aryan dynasty, which was also connected with the family of Manu through marriage, ruled over southern Bihar and Orissa. This was the Saudyumna dynasty. Sudyumna had three sons, Gaya, Utkala and Haritāśva. Gaya ruled at Gaya (the city founded by him).⁶

2. The Expansion of the Indo-Aryans

- (i) *The expansion of the Solar Family.* The first expanding family was that of Manu. His sons and grand-sons were ambitious and daring, and they were able to found colonies and kingdoms in different parts of India and even beyond it.
- (i) The main line of Manu under Ikṣvāku continued at Ayodhyā.⁷
- (ii) Nābhānediṣṭha (Manu's son) founded a dynasty at Vaiśālī (= Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihar).⁸
- (iii) Kārūṣa (Manu's son) established a kingdom on the banks of the Sone river in S.-W. Bihar and E. of the Rewa State.⁹
- (iv) The descendants of Dhṛṣṭas (Manu's son) occupied the eastern Panjab.¹⁰
- (v) Nābhāga (Manu's son) founded a dynasty on the southern bank of the Yamunā river.¹¹
- (vi) Śaryāti (Manu's son) ruled over Ānarta in N. Gujrat.¹²
- (vii) The descendants of Nariṣyanta went towards N.-W. outside India and became the progenitors of the Sakas.¹³
- (viii) Ikṣvāku's son Nimi founded the Videha dynasty in N.-E. Bihar.¹⁴

5 *Śiva-purāṇa*, vii, 60; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, vi, 20.

6 *Vāyu-purāṇa*, 85, 18-19; *Śiva-purāṇa*, 60, 14-15.

7 *Matsya-purāṇa*, 12, 15.

8 *Vāyu-purāṇa*, 86, 3-22.

9 *Padma-purāṇa*, v. 8. 129.

10 *Matsya-purāṇa*, 12, 20-1.

11 *Bhāgavat-purāṇa*, ix. 2. 17-18.

12 *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, iv. 1. 20-34.

13 *Śiva-purāṇa*, vii. 60, 19.

14 *Vāyu-purāṇa*, 89, 1-2, 6.

- (ix) Ikṣvāku's son Daṇḍa explored the forest region of the Deccan, which was known after him as Daṇḍakāraṇya.¹⁵
- (x) Fifty descendants of Ikṣvāku, under their leader Śakuni, occupied Uttarāpatha (N.-W. India).¹⁶
- (xi) Forty-eight descendants of Vasati occupied Dakṣiṇāpatha.¹⁷
- (xii) Fifteen descendants of Vikukṣi (the eldest son of Ikṣvāku) occupied north of Meru (= Suineria).¹⁸
- (xiii) One hundred and fourteen other descendants of his colonised South of Meru.¹⁹
- (2) *The expansion of the Lunar Family.* This family was very prolific and virile. Soon after the expansion of the Solar Family the expansion of the Lunar Family started and it subordinated the former in many places.
 - (i) The main line under Āyu (the eldest son of Purūravas) continued at Pratiṣṭhāna.²⁰
 - (ii) Amāvasu (another son of Purūravas) founded a dynasty at Kānyakubja (= Kanauj).²¹
 - (iii) Kṣattravṛddha (grand-son of Purūravas and son of Āyu) established a dynasty at Kashi.²²
 - (iv) Yayāti, the son and successor of Nahusa, was a great conqueror and made wide conquests towards N.-W., S.-E. and S.-W. He was the first emperor of Indian history.²³
 - (v) Yayāti had five sons—Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Puru. The empire of Yayāti was divided among them as follows:²⁴
 - (a) Puru, the youngest, succeeded Yayāti at Pratiṣṭhāna.
 - (b) Yadu got S.-W. territories watered by Carmanvatī (Chambal), Vetravatī (Betwa) and Śuktimatī (Ken).
 - (c) Turvasu was given S.-E. His descendants later on shifted towards N.-W.
 - (d) Druhyu was allotted West—west of the Yamunā and

¹⁵ *Siva-purāṇa*, vii. 6. 33-5, 37.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²³ *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, iii, 68, 12-13.

²⁴ *Vāyu-purāṇa*, 93, 90; *Brahmāṇḍa*, iii. 68, 92.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Vāyu-purāṇa*, 91, 51-2.

²² *Ibid.*

North of the Chambal. His descendants later on moved towards N.-W.

(e) Anu occupied northern part of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab.

(3) *Later disposition of the Lunar Family in N.-W.*

- (i) The Yādavas (descendants of Yadu) developed into a great power under their king Śāsavindu.²⁵ They pushed the descendants of Druhyu up towards N.-W. into the Panjab.²⁶ The Druhyus were further forced by emperor Māndhātā of Ayodhyā. Their king Gāndhāra was compelled to move towards N.-W. and founded the kingdom of Gāndhāra.²⁷
- (ii) The Yādavas also eclipsed the main Lunar Family at Pratiṣṭhāna and they forced the Pauravas to move towards N.-W.²⁸
- (iii) The Ānavas who lay between the Druhyus and the kingdom of Ayodhyā were also forced by Māndhātā to proceed towards N.-W. into the Panjab.²⁹
- (iv) Śivi, the son of Uśinara (an Ānava), was the progenitor of Śivis in the Panjab, and his sons founded the kingdoms of Vṛṣadarbha, Madra, Kekaya and Sauvīra.³⁰
- (v) Druhyus, though lost the eastern part of their dominions, were able to retain Gāndhāra. Five generations afterwards they began to multiply and their further movement towards N.-W. led to the foundation of a number of kingdoms in the Mleccha (foreign) countries outside India.³¹
- (vi) The Pauravas, dislodged from Pratiṣṭhāna by the Yādavas and Māndhātā, moved towards N.-W. and founded Hastināpura their capital. Duśyanta reorganized the Paurava dynasty. He was succeeded by his famous son Bhārata born of Śakuntalā. His successors Bhāratas became very famous in Indian history. The whole country was known after them as Bhāratavarṣa.³²
- (vii) One of the Bhāratas occupied upper part of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā

25 *Vāyu purāṇa*, 95. 19.

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Ibid.* 99. 9.

28 *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, iv. 41.

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Brahmāṇḍa*, iii. 74. 15. 16.

31 प्रचेतसः पुत्रशतं राजानः सर्वे एव ते ।

म्लेच्छराष्ट्राधिपाः सर्वे ह्युदोचीं दिशमाश्रिताः ॥ *Vāyu-purāṇa*.

32 *Bhāgavat-purāṇa*, ix. 23, 17-18.

doab. There one Bhārata king *Bhṛmyāśva* had five sons whose joint nickname was Pāñcāla and their kingdom was called after them. One of the five brothers was Mudgala, whose son Vadhryāśva extended his kingdom widely. The latter's son Divodāsa further augmented it. Divodāsa's successors—Mitrāyu, Maitreya, Śrījaya, Cyavana and Sudāsa played very important part in the political and religious history of the country. Sudāsa was very ambitious and he made extensive conquests towards N.-W. According to the *Mahābhārata* he defeated a confederacy of neighbouring kings on the banks of the Paruṣṇi (Ravi) river.³³

Conclusion from the Puranic Data

1. *The Original Home of the Indo-Aryans*

The original home of the Indo-Aryans was Madhyadeśa (Mid-India). Its centre lay between Ayodhyā and Pratiṣṭhāna (= Allahabad), where the first two Aryan dynasties (the Solar and Lunar ones) arose. It roughly included, in its expanded form, the whole of U.P. and Bihar, the eastern Panjab upto the river Sarasvati and the eastern portion of Central India. This conclusion is based on the fact that the early branches of the first dynasties were established in these areas without struggles and wars with non-Aryan elements in India, which shows that the Aryans had already been settled there.

2. *The Westward Expansion of the Indo-Aryans*

With their original centres at Ayodhyā and Pratiṣṭhāna, they expanded towards east, south and west. Instead of invading India through N.-W. passes and marching towards east, the Aryans advanced from Madhyadeśa towards N.-W., beginning from the early migration of some of near descendants of Ikṣvāku upto the westward conquest of the Pāñcāla king Sudāsa.

3. *The Migration of the Indo-Aryans beyond India towards N.-W.*

The Aryans did not only expand inside India and occupied the whole of Uttarāpātha (N.-W. India), but they also crossed the N.-W. passes

33 *Agni-purāṇa*, 277. 20; *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, i. 140. 9.

of India and occupied the countries now covered by Afghanistan, Central Asia, Persia and Western Asia upto the Mediterranean Sea.

The Criticism of Pargiter's Inferences from the Purāṇas

1. "According to tradition.....the Ailas or Aryans began at Allahabad (=Pratiṣṭhāna), conquered and spread out north-west, west and south and had by Yayāti's time occupied precisely the region famed as Madhyadeśa....."³⁴

"Indian tradition knows nothing of any Aila or Aryan invasion of India from Afghanistan, nor of any gradual advance from thence eastwards. On the other hand it distinctly asserts that there was an Aila outflow of the Druhyus through the N.-W. into the countries beyond, where they founded various kingdoms and so introduced their own Indian religion among the nations."³⁵

The above inference is straight and easy. Anybody, who has read the Purāṇas, will agree with him. But Pargiter draws some other inferences, which are not warranted by any text in the Puranic literature.

2. "What does tradition say about the origin of the Ailas or Aryans? It makes the Aila power begin at Allahabad, and yet distinctly suggests that they were outside India. The legends and fables about the progenitor Purūravas Aila connect him with the middle Himalayan regions."³⁶

The basis of this inference is that the daughter of Manu, Ilā, had been on a pleasure tour in the mid-Himalayan region, when she met Budha, the son of Soma. There is, however, not the slightest suggestion or indication that Budha or his father Soma belonged to the mid-Himalayan region or he came there from outside India. There is a much clearer suggestion, supported by later events, that Budha, like Ilā, was also on a pleasure tour and had gone there from Pratiṣṭhāna, where his son Purūravas succeeded him on the throne. Had the Ailas or Aryans been invaders from the north through the mid-Himalayan regions, they could not have spared and bypassed the Mānavas (Solar people) at Ayodhyā before their arrival at Pratiṣṭhāna, which lies south of Ayodhyā. The natural inference will be to regard the Mānavas and Ailas both as Aryan families inhabiting Madhya-deśa and the mid-Himalayan region as its outskirts.

34 F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 296.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 298.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 297.

which was visited and haunted by people from the plains for pleasure and meditation. There are other considerations also against any Aryan invasion from the due north. Firstly, there is the insurmountable physical impossibility. Secondly, there is hardly any ethnic affinity between the Aryans of India and the trans-Himalayan Mongoloid people.

3. An outlandish inference drawn from the Purāṇas by Pargiter is regarding the race of the Mānavas (Solar people) and the Saudyumnas. In his opinion the Mānavas belonged to the Dravidian race and the Saudyumnas to the Munda-Monkhmer stock.³⁷ In the case of the Mānavas his main argument is that in the Purāṇas the Mānavas are depicted as a people distinct and different from the Ailas (= Aryans), and they lived in India before the advent of the latter. The pre-Aryan people, according to him, were Dravidians. First of all, the Mānavas are not described as a people distinct and different from the Ailas. On the other hand, the close and frequent matrimonial relations between them imply an affinity of race. Both are described as a people similar in race, language and religion. Moreover, the centre of the Dravidians in India, as in the modern times so in the past, was the south and not the north of India. The Dravidians came, in course of time, to northern India through migrations, wars, trade or jobs. It is absolutely unnecessary to seek the original home of the Dravidians in the north.

As regards the Saudyumnas, Pargiter thinks that, because they ruled southern Bihar and Orissa, they belonged to the Munda-Monkhmer stock, the centre of which lies near these areas. The Purāṇas, however, treat the Saudyumnas as a family branching off from, and matrimonially connected with, the Mānavas. The Saudyumnas were distinct and different from the Munda-Monkhmer people who were confined to the forest and hilly tracts of Bihar and Orissa and who have still preserved their racial peculiarities. The Saudyumnas, who were intimately connected with Mānavas, cannot be confused with the Munda Monkhmer stock.

The Puranic Evidences and the Vedas

The Puranic evidences are fully corroborated by the incidental references found in the Vedas. As a matter of fact, the Vedic references can be understood in their proper contexts in the light of the Puranic

history. This fact corresponds with the well-known Indian traditions:³⁸ "The Brāhmaṇa, who may know the four Vedas with the Aṅgas and the Upaniṣads, should not really be regarded as having attained proficiency, if he should not thoroughly know the Purāṇas. The Veda is afraid of him, who is deficient in tradition, (thinking) he will do me hurt." The following correspondences between the Vedas and the Purāṇas should specially be noted:

1. Almost all the Aryan families and kings of the Purāṇas, who sought N.-W.-ward expansion, are referred to in the Vedas. On the evidence of the Vedas, however, we cannot determine chronology and location, whereas the Purāṇas contain statements, regarding their sequence, succession and location. The Purāṇas narrate the history of the five sons of Yayāti and their successors—Puru, Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, and Anu; the Vedas refer to their descendants—Anus, Druhyus, Turvasus, Yadus and Purus.³⁹

2. The Purāṇas describe the wars between Sudāsa, a king of Pāñcāla and the kings and peoples of the Panjab; the *R̥gveda* contains a description of the 'Dāśarājña-Yuddha' fought between Sudāsa on the one side and the ten tribes of the Punjab.⁴⁰

3. The Purāṇas systematically record the successive expansion of the Aryan from the Madhyadeśa towards N.-W. The westward march of the Aryans with their horses and chariots, crossing the rivers of India from the Gaṅgā in the east upto the Kubhā (Kabul), Gomatī (Gomal) and Kramu (Kurru) in the west is clearly indicated by the *R̥gveda* in its hymn to the rivers.⁴¹

The important fact to be noted in this connection is that the rivers in the *R̥gveda* are enumerated from the east to the west, indicating the direction of the Aryan expansion.⁴² The pity is that the champions of the

38 यो विद्याच्चतुरो वेदान्साङ्गोपनिषदो द्विजः ।

न चेत्पुराणं संविद्यालैव स स्याद्विचक्षणः ॥

इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।

विभेत्पुरुषश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥ —*Padma-purāṇa*, v. 2. 50-2.

39 *R̥gveda*, vii. 33, 2, 5; 83, 8. 40 *R̥gveda*, vii. 33, 83. 41. *Ibid.*, x. 75.

42 इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वती शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परब्रह्मणा :

असिकन्या मरुद्भ्ये वितस्तयाऽऽर्जुनीये शृणुष्यासुषोमया ।

तृष्टामेया प्रथमं यातवे सजुः सुसर्त्वारसया श्वेत्या त्वा ॥

theory of the foreign origin of the Aryans ignore the crucial fact, and, contrary to the evidence, base their theory of the Aryan invasion of India from N.-W. on this hymn.

4. The non-Aryan peoples, with whom the Aryans had to fight in the course of their westward and southward expansion from Madhyadeśa, are called in the Purāṇas as Asuras, Dānavas, Rākṣasas, Piśācas etc. All these names are found in the Vedas also.

The Purāṇas and Philology

The main thesis of philologists, regarding the original home of the Aryan race, is that the family of the Indo-European languages, stretching from the Gaṅgā in the east to Ireland in the west, shows certain affinity which indicates a common original home of the Indo European Aryans. The different schools of philologists seek this original home in different places—Central Asia, Mesopotamia, various centres in Europe etc. The main basis of the identification of the original home of the Aryans is speculation on common words found in these languages. How far this speculation is uncertain and shaky is proved by the wide divergences that exist among the champions of various theories. In the opinion of the present writer the linguistic affinities among the Indo-European peoples can be satisfactorily interpreted and the differences of view among scholars can be smoothly resolved, if we look to the Purāṇas for light. The Purāṇas tell us, in no uncertain words, that the Aryans rose to power in Madhyadeśa (Mid-India), from where they expanded in different parts of India. It was from here that they moved westward and occupied the Panjab, the Frontier and the Kabul valley; the most adventurous of them still advanced further and colonized Central and Western Asia. By reaching the Mediterranean, they came in contact with the Europeans. This process of Aryan expansion, as described in the Purāṇas, will explain the diffusion of the words of Sanskrit origin in different languages of Asia and Europe and the close connection between the Indian and the Iranian. The testimony of the Purāṇas, which is based not upon speculative inferences but upon clear statements of facts, is more trustworthy than philology, which is highly speculative and therefore, less certain.

R. B. PANDEY

त्वं सिन्धो कुम्भया गोमतीं ऋमुं मेहतन्वा सरयं यामि रीयसे ।
ऋजीत्ये नो रुशती महित्वा परिज्यासि भरते रजांसि ॥ ऋग्वेद, x. 75. 4-6.

Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta is not Posthumous

The problem is not a new one. In fact, the problem would not have arisen at all, but for an unfortunate error that crept in at an early stage of the study of the record.

In 1837, Mr. James Prinsep published his transcript of the inscription, which was no doubt a great improvement upon the previous attempts, but which was still far from being perfect.¹ By his misreading *ācakaṣāṇaḥ babbhūva* for the correct reading *ācakaṣāṇa iva bhuvo*, in line 30, he naturally concluded that the person eulogized, namely Samudragupta, was no more at the time when the eulogy was composed. He therefore alluded to him, in his introductory remarks, as 'the prince lately defunct,' 'the deceased emperor of Hindustan,' 'a man just deceased,' and so forth. Somehow he fancied that Samudragupta had died *not very long before* the eulogy was composed, notwithstanding the *babbhūva* of his reading, which normally denotes a remote past.

We find his mistaken reading rectified in the monumental work of Dr. John Faithfull Fleet, entitled *Inscriptions of the early Gupta kings and their successors*, which appeared half a century later.² Curiously enough, however, the effect of the mistake persisted even after the mistake itself had been removed. Fleet, who obviously took his cue from Prinsep, somehow got so possessed of the idea that he took pains to prove the posthumousness of the record even when there was no proof left at all, the illusory *babbhūva* having vanished. He pinned his faith on the passage, a portion of which has just been cited. It reads:

*mahārājādhirāja-śrī- S a m u d r a g u p t a s y a sarva-prthivī-vijaya
janit-odaya-vyāpta-nikhil-āvanitalām kīrttim = itas = tridaśapati-bha-
vana-gaman-āvāpta laṣṭa-sukha-vicaraṇām = ācakaṣāṇa iva bhuvo bāhur
= ayam = ucchritaḥ stambhaḥ* (Lines 29-30).

It is well known that the present *prāsaṣṭi* is composed in a highly ornate style. Its author, Hariṣeṇa, calls it *Kāvya*. And it may readily be

¹ *JASB.*, vol. VI, 1837, pp. 976-8.

² *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, Calcutta, 1888, p. 9.

recognised that the passage just quoted contains a theme of frequent occurrence in Sanskrit, both in literature and in epigraphy: namely wanderings of Fame. It has been a pet subject with the court-poets in India to make their patrons' fame roam at large—traverse the world, cross the oceans, and even ascend to heaven. They vie with each other in soaring high in the realm of fancy, while describing fame. The passage in question is but one instance of such a flight.

Fleet, however, read a sombre meaning in between the lines, as is evident from his translation of the passage, which runs as follows:

"This lofty column (*is*) as it were an arm of the earth, proclaiming the fame.—which, having pervaded the entire surface of the earth with (*its*) development that was caused by (*his*) conquest of the whole world, (*has departed*) hence (*and now*) experiences the sweet happiness attained by (*his*) having gone to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods,—of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *S a m u d r a g u p t a*."²

It need hardly be pointed out that some of the words inserted by him, within brackets, are plainly to suit his preconceived notion. They obscure the text rather than elucidate it. Rules of grammar and syntax have conveniently been ignored here.

Let it not be presumed that all this went unchallenged. In 1889-90, almost the time when Fleet's work saw the light of the day, Dr. George Bühler demonstrated the palpable fallacy noticeable in Fleet's rendering of the passage. Evidently, however, Bühler's exposition failed to attract as much attention as it merited. The reason seems to be that he wrote in German and that he dealt with the subject only parenthetically, the main theme of his long essay being something different. Besides, the essay appeared in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, a publication not easily accessible to the scholars interested in the subject.

The result was that Fleet's interpretation gained currency and by the passage of time acquired the stamp of finality. The historians, who subsequently wrote on the Gupta period of the Indian history, largely drew upon Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, and naturally depended upon his interpretations and conclusions. Nobody seems to have taken notice of what Bühler had said about the alleged posthumousness of the Allahabad *prāsasti*. After about nine years, we find him making another attempt

at raising a voice of protest, this time in the form of a personal letter to the famous historian, Mr. Vincent A. Smith, who immediately gave publicity to it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1898, pp. 386-7, adding: "Professor Bühler is unquestionably right in making this correction, and I regret that I did not know it when writing recently on the history of the reign and conquests of Samudra Gupta."⁴

This happened fifty years ago.

Smith made amends by drawing attention to the said letter, in a footnote on page 246 of his *Early History of India*.⁵ Obviously that was not sufficient. The wrong done by Fleet's mistaken view had by that time grown too wide-spread to be undone by a mere footnote.

Later on, Bühler's original essay had been made available to a wider circle of scholars, thanks to Professor V. S. Ghatge's English translation of it, that appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLII (1913).⁶ But that does not seem to have helped much either.

Except perhaps in some very well-informed circles, Fleet's view steadfastly held the ground. In 1933, we find Dr. K. P. Jayaswal confessing in the following words: "Fleet's mistake misled many including myself."⁷

There are errors that die hard.

In an authoritative history, published as late as 1946, it is said: "Although Fleet held that the record was incised after the death of Samudragupta, there are no adequate grounds against the natural assumption that it was set up during the lifetime of the great emperor."⁸ Such equivocal statements as this are bound to create an impression that there is after all some substance in Fleet's view. The foregoing statement is tantamount to saying that there are some grounds that favour Fleet's

4 Smith evidently refers here to his essay on Samudragupta in the *JRAS.*, 1897, pp. 19-33.

5 It first appeared in 1904. The footnote is repeated in its subsequent editions. The 4th edition has it on p. 298.

6 The essay is about the Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry. Its English translation has been published in several instalments. Hariṣeṇa's panegyric of Samudragupta is discussed on pages 172-5.

7 K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, Lahore, 1933, p. 121, footnote.

8 R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, *The Vākātaka-Gupta Age*, (vol. VI of *A New History of the Indian People*), Lahore, 1946, p. 137.

view, be they not adequate enough. As a matter of fact, Fleet's view is absolutely baseless and should be so proclaimed. It is with a view to establishing the truth and placing it beyond all possible doubts that I have ventured to write this note.

All that was to be said by way of correcting Fleet's translation of the passage concerned has already been said by Bühler.⁹ He has also quoted certain verses, conveying the same idea as is expressed in the prose passage of the inscription. Let me quote a few additional ones that bring out the analogy more closely.

*katham = avanipa darpo yan = nisāt-āsi-dhārā-dalita-galita-mūrdhnām
vidviṣām suikṛtā śrīh/*

*nanu tava nibat-ārera = apy = asau kiṃ na nītā tridivam = apagat-
āṅgair = vallabbhā kīrtir = ebbih/*¹⁰

Here the bard says to his master: "If you have killed your enemies and captured their Fortune, you need not be proud; for, have not they, even after being slaughtered, taken away with them your beloved Fame to heaven?"

*indum nindati chandanam na sahate vidveṣṭi paṅkerubham hāram
bhāram = avaiti n = aiva kurute karpūra-pūre manah/*

*svargaṅgām = avagāhate himagirim gādham samāliṅgati tvat-kīrtir =
virah-ātur = eva na manāg ekaṭra viśrāmyati/*¹¹

The poet compares his patron's fame to a love-lorn lady who, in her restless state, in order to allay the heat of separation, is trying all soothing expedients, including a journey to the Himālaya and a dip in the heavenly Ganges.

9 By way of showing the inaccuracy of Fleet's translation, he says: "The points requiring explanation are: (1) the addition of *has departed and now*, (2) the translation of *vicarāṇa* by *experiences*, (3) the insertion of *his* (i.e. of the king), before *having gone*." (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XLII, p. 173, fn. 34). Bühler's own translation runs as follows: "This high pillar is, as it were, the arm of the earth raised up, which announces that the fame of Samudragupta, the illustrious lord of great kings, greatly augmented through the conquest of the whole earth, fil'd the whole surface of the earth, and found a lovely, happy path in that it wandered from this world to the palace of the lord of gods." (*Ibid.*, p. 173).

10 *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, 6th ed., p. 141, verse 36.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 142, verse 41.

gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgame kṛtaśata-snānā badary-āśrame sthitv = āsau
 paridhāya tad-guṇa-mayaṃ śvetam dukūlam punaḥ/
 brāhmaṇaṃ vaiṣṇavam = aindram = aiśvaram api sthānam spṛśantī
 mububh kīrtis = te patidevatā yuga-śataṃ dīrgh-āyur = ākāṅkṣati//¹²

Fame here is supposed to be a faithful wife who, wishing longevity for her lord, is performing pilgrimage to the abodes of Brahmaṇ, Viṣṇu, Indra and Śiva.

As compared with these soaring imageries, that of Hariṣeṇa is but a modest one. His fancying the pillar to be an upraised arm of Earth, pointing to Samudragupta's Fame disporting herself in Indra's abode, is, from the rhetorical point of view, as natural as it is expressive.

Fleet however, seems to have missed the true import of the poetic fancy, and concentrated upon what appeared to him an allusion of far-reaching historical importance. Having rendered *tridaśapati-bhavanagamana* of the compound as "by (his) having gone to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods," he further explained it by adding "i.e. on his death."¹³ In order to substantiate this, he invited comparison with two expressions that, he thought, were parallel instances. The text of the one is. *aindra-pada-jigīṣay = eva-svarggam = adhirūdhe ca jyeṣṭhe bhrātari śrīmat Kṛṣṇarājadeve* (Indian Antiquary, vol. XII, p. 265, text lines 23-4), while the other reads: *Padmapālabh/yuv = aiva daiva-pratikūla-bhāvāt Saṃkrandan-āṅk-āsana-bhāg = babhūva* (Ibid.), vol. XV, p. 37, text line 14). The difference is manifest. These speak of the persons themselves going to heaven, while the passage in Samudragupta's inscription describes his fame ascending to heaven. Fleet might also have cited: *pitarī sura-sakhitvaṃ prāptavatyā = ātmaśaktyā*, which refers to the death of Skandagupta's father,¹⁴ though here only a god takes the place of the lord of the gods. But this in common with the other two bears no comparison with the expression found in Samudragupta's *prāśasti*. Had this contained some such expression as *mūṛtyā karma-jitāvanim gatavataḥ kīrtiyā sthitasya kṣītau*,¹⁵ Fleet would have had a very good case.

¹² Ibid., p. 143, verse 61.

¹³ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 10, fn. 2.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 59, text l. 4.

¹⁵ This is said of the king Candrar of the Meharauli iron pillar inscription; *ibid.*, p. 141, text line 3.

As it is, the passage describing Samudragupta's fame finds an exact parallel in two very elaborate stanzas of the Mandasor pillar inscription of Yaśodharman. In order to appreciate the parallelism, we had better have their full text before us:

[Gā]m = ev = onmātam = ūrddhvam vigaṇayitum = iva jyotiṣāṃ cakkravālam nirddeṣṭuṃ mārḡgam = uccair = ddiva iva s u k ṛ t o p ā r j j i t ā y ā ḥ s v a - k ī r t t e ḥ |

ten = ā-kalpānta-kāl-āvadhir = avanibhuja śrī-Yaśodharman = āyam stambhaḥ stambh-ābhiraṃsa-sthira-bhuja-parigheṇ = occhritim nāyito = ttra |

Ś[l]āghye janm = āsya vañse caritam = agha-haram dṛśyate kāntam = asmin = dharmasy = āyam niketaś = calati niyamitam n = āmunā loka-urttam |

ity = utkaraṣaṃ guṇānāṃ likhitum = iva Yaśodharmanas = candra-bimbe rāgād utkṣipta uccair-bhuja iva rucim ān ya ḥ p ṛ t h i v y ā v i b h ā t i | (verses 7 & 8).¹⁶

The portion printed in thick type shows up the points of likeness. It requires but little imagination to discern that Vāsula, the panegyrist of Yaśodharman, has emulated Hariṣeṇa. The two authors are removed

16 *Ibid.*, p. 147. Their translation, given on p. 148, runs as follows: "By him, the king, the glorious Yaśodharman, the firm beams of whose arms are as charming as pillars, this column, which shall endure to the time of the destruction of the world, has been erected here,—as if to measure out the earth; as if to enumerate on high the multitude of the heavenly lights; (and) as if to point out the path of his own fame to the skies above, acquired by good actions;—(this column) which shines refulgent, as if it were a lofty arm of the earth, raised up in joy to write upon the surface of the moon the excellence of the virtues of Yaśodharman to the effect that—"His birth (is) in a lineage that is worthy to be eulogised; there is seen in him a charming behaviour that is destructive of sin; he is the abode of religion; (and) the (good) customs of mankind continue current, unimpeded (in any way) by him." "

The rendering is not accurate in parts. The opening expression had better be translated by 'as if to measure out the sky.' The word *ūrddhvam* most probably qualifies *gām* 'sky' itself. The second line of the first verse really means 'as if to show his Fame the way, high above, to the paradise earned by his good deeds.' The prose order of *calati*, etc., in the second line of the second verse, is *āmunā niyamitam loka-urttam na calati* 'there is no going astray in the public morality controlled by him.' In the last *pāda*, *uccair* seems to go with *utkṣiptaḥ* rather than with *bhujaḥ*.

from each other, in point of time, by less than two centuries. It appears that Vāsula knew Aśoka's pillar in its original setting, at Kauśāmbī or wherever it had stood, as also Samudragupta's *praśasti* engraved on it, which has evidently served as model for him in composing the eulogy of his patron. The central idea of fancying a stone pillar as an upraised arm of the earth he has plainly 'stolen' from Hariṣeṇa's composition. He appears to us to be making a frantic effort to excel and outshine his model. While Hariṣeṇa was satisfied with one simple *Utprekṣā*, Vāsula brings in a string of that embellishment, which perhaps only confirms the 'theft.' We are, however, not concerned here with this affair.¹⁷

Fleet was aware of the similarity, just noticed, between the Allahabad inscription and the Mandasor inscription. But he indicates it in a different way. He takes the opportunity to demonstrate, by contrast, that the Mandasor inscription is not posthumous as, according to him, the Allahabad inscription is. "Also,," remarks he, "the use of the present tense almost throughout, coupled with the record that Yaśodharman himself erected the column shews that the inscription is one of his own time, not posthumous."¹⁸ There was hardly any occasion for such a remark in connection with the Mandasor inscription, but for the consciousness on the part of Fleet of having declared the Allahabad inscription as posthumous, which no doubt prompted him to make that remark. And his reasoning is not at all sound. He obviously forgets that there is no past tense in the Allahabad inscription either. And as for the record that, in the case of the Mandasor pillar, Yaśodharman himself erected it, this is as it should be. We know that Samudragupta's inscription is engraved on a column which was originally set up by Aśoka. Vāsula, evidently conscious of this, by employing the uncommon expression *ucchritiṃ nāyito* = *ttra*, seems to be proclaiming to the world, with a tinge of pride, something to the effect that, while Hariṣeṇa's patron made use of a ready-made pillar for his *praśasti*,

17 I cannot refrain from remarking that the tail-ends of the two *praśastis* again show a similarity which point to Vāsula having modelled his composition on that of Hariṣeṇa. By using the term *utkirṇṇa* 'engraved,' he seems to be sort of explaining to us the usage of *anuṣṭhita* found in the Allahabad inscription (line 33), explained by Fleet as 'the accomplishment of the matter has been effected,' which we may now take as another way of saying 'engraved.'

18 *Ibid.*, p. 146.

Vāsula's patron got one specially made for the purpose. Vāsula has already given us an indication of this kind of partiality on his part for his patron, in verse 4, wherein he describes the latter as superior to the Gupta kings and the Hūṇa rulers.¹⁹ From our point of view, the requisite dignity is equally maintained in both the inscriptions. In neither of them does the ruler concerned appear on the stage, so to say. He does not egoistically say. "I have got this column erected." "I have got this eulogy incised." The bargging part has been rightly left to the bards.

We have just said that there is no past tense to be found in the Allahabad inscription. And that is really remarkable. It is well known that the whole of this lengthy inscription,—its racy verses and sonorous prose combined,—constitutes but one huge sentence, having many adjuncts and dependent clauses. Whenever there has been an occasion for the use of a finite verb, it is found to be in the present tense, so far at least as the preserved part of the inscription is concerned; and there is comparatively a small part that has been lost to us. We do not consider the *punāti* with which the verse in the *Prthvī* metre in line 31 commences; nor do we take into account the *bhunakti* of verse 3 in line 6; for, both of them may go very well in a description of a person who is no more. There is, however, one instance in the inscription where the present tense unmistakably refers to a 'present' event and not to a past one, and that is in verse 8. When the poet says *ko nu syād = yo = sya na syād = guṇa iti viduṣām*,²⁰ etc., he is evidently referring to a living person, not to a deceased one. If the latter were the case, he ought to have said *ko nu syād = yo = sya na = ābhūd*, etc.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 146. This verse provides additional evidence to show that Vāsula was familiar with the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, which, of course, was not at Allahabad in those days. By saying *sakala-vasudh-ākkrānti-dṛṣṭa-pratāpaiḥ*, Vāsula is shrewdly reminding us of Hariṣeṇa's words *sarvva-prthivi-vijaya-janit-odaya-*, etc. about Samudragupta.

20 The sense requires that the reading should be as given above, and not *guṇa-mati-viduṣām* as given by Fleet. I have discussed this and some more readings in another connection. The opening expression of verse 8 is *dharma-prācira-bandhāḥ* (ending with a long *ā* and *visarga*), qualifying *kīrttayah*. Verse 4 begins with *ehy = eh = ity =*, not with *āryyoh = ity =*, and ends more probably with *pāhi evam = uruvim = iti* than with *pāhy = evam = uruvim = iti*. See *Indian Culture*, vol. XIV, pp. 143, 145 and fn. 3.

There is thus absolutely no doubt that the inscription is one of Samudragupta's own time, not posthumous.

Fleet, in the course of his discussion, once came face to face with the truth, but he refused to recognise it. So prepossessed his mind seems to have been by the opposite view. Winding up the eulogy, Hariṣeṇa introduces himself in these words: *etac = ca kāvyam = eṣām = eva bhāṭṭāraka-pādānām*, etc. The pronoun *eṣām* manifestly refers to the person described in the immediately preceding passage, and that person is none else but Samudragupta. With what straining Fleet makes it refer to Samudragupta's son Candragupta II can better be known from his own words. "It is somewhat doubtful," says he, referring to the title *Bhāṭṭāraka*, "whether this title here denotes Samudragupta, or his successor; but on the whole, *eṣām*, 'these,' being used, not *teṣām*, 'those,' the passage seems to have a strictly present sense, and to refer to Candragupta II; contrast *tasya*, 'of him, of that one,' which is used to denote Samudragupta in line 17 above, but which I have had, for convenience, to render in the translation by the relative pronoun."²¹ Let it first be pointed out that this *tasya* is in reality nothing else but a relative pronoun, answering *yah* and its other inflected forms found in the foregoing 8 verses. It has to be *tasya*, and nothing else, because of the *yat-tad-ora nūyah sambandhaḥ*. It does refer to Samudragupta, but not as a distant somebody so as to denote that he is no more. It refers to him as somebody close at hand quite in the same way as *eṣām* in line 31 refers to him. Fleet admits that this demonstrative pronoun (*eṣām*) has 'a strictly present sense,' but instead of connecting it with Samudragupta, as should be done, he connects it with some one (Candragupta II) of whom there is no mention at all in the whole inscription. Bühler has pointed out the grammatical impossibility of Fleet's seeking such a connection.²²

Even supposing, for argument's sake, that Fleet is right here, with whom will he connect *asya* in the already quoted passage *ko nu syād = yo = sya na syād*? Does it not refer to Samudragupta?

In view of the foregoing discussion, I suppose, no further proof is required to show that the Allahabad inscription is one of Samudragupta's own time. If it was composed or incised in the reign of his son, Candra-

²¹ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 17, fn. 1.

²² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XLII, p. 172, fn. 29.

gupta II, the latter should have been mentioned in the inscription, and the proper place for him was in line 29 after Samudragupta, considering the way the Gupta genealogy is given here and in the subsequent records of the family. And we cannot imagine for a moment that Hariṣeṇa himself took the initiative in the matter, ignoring the ruling monarch altogether, or, as Fleet would have it, alluding to him at the fag end of the eulogy as somebody non-essential. The inscription belongs to Samudragupta himself, and it refers itself to an earlier part of his reign. This is indicated by the absence of any reference in it to his having performed the *Āśvamedha* sacrifice, known from other sources.

B. CH. CHHABRA

Fresh Evidence for Daṇḍin's Composition of Kalāpariccheda

The following verse of Rājasekhara as quoted in the *Śārngadhara-paddhati*¹ of 1363 A.C. is well known:—

तयोऽमयन्नयो वेदाङ्गयो देवाङ्गयो गुणाः ।

त्रयो दण्डिप्रबन्धाश्च त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुताः ॥

The verse, while grouping together a number of *trios*, brings to light the composition by Daṇḍin of three major works.

As only two major works, viz. the *Daśakumāracarita*² and the *Kāvyaadarśa*,³ have been actually available as traditionally ascribed to Daṇḍin, scholars have been variously exerting their ingenuity to find out the third work by Daṇḍin.

In this direction, *Chandoviciti* referred to in *Kāvyaadarśa* l. 12—

छन्दोविचित्यां सकलस्तत्प्रपञ्चो निदर्शितः ।

सा विद्या नौस्तिकीर्षुर्गो गम्भीरं काव्यसागरम् ॥

was suggested by eminent scholars like Peterson⁴ and Jacobi to be an independent obsolete work on Prosody composed by Daṇḍin himself, while others like Keith⁵ granted the possibility of the same being a mere chapter, now obsolete, of the *Kāvyaadarśa*. Neither of these views is tenable now because it has been established that Daṇḍin here evidently mentions *Chandoviciti* not as a work of his own composition but merely as a science (*Vidyā*) of Metrics in general, or as promulgated by Piṅgala in his *Chandaḥ-sūtra*, with reference to which the word is found to be used in literature since time immemorial, e.g. in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (I. 3. 1),⁶ in Varāhamihira's *Brhatsamhitā*

1 Bombay Sanskrit Series No. 37, Verse No. 174.

2 The arguments advanced by K. P. Trivedi, G. J. Agashe and others for rejecting Daṇḍin's authorship to the *Daśakumāracarita* are no more considered to be worthy of consideration.

3 References in this paper are to the Lahore edition (Samvat 1990) of the *Kāvyaadarśa*.

4 Intro. to *Daśakumāracarita*, Bombay, 1891, p. 5.

5 *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928, p. 296.

6 'शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दोविचितिर्ज्योतिषमिति चाज्ञा नि'

(CIV. 64), etc. Two chapters in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* dealing with metres, too, are entitled *Chandoviciti*. Thus there is no justification for regarding Daṇḍin's allusion here to be to a work of that name of his own composition.

Pischel, mainly on the ground of the occurrence at *Kāvyādarśa* II. 226 and 362 of the verse

लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि वर्षतीवाञ्जनं नभः ।

असत्पुरुषसेवेव दृष्टिर्विफलतां गता ॥

traced originally at *Mṛcchakaṭika* I. 34, made a rash and wild conjecture that Daṇḍin was the real author of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* which along with the *Daśakumāracarita* and the *Kāvyādarśa* made up the required number of Daṇḍin's works. No sane scholar entertained Pischel's conjecture, although he himself continued to cling to it even subsequently.¹⁰ In fact, Daṇḍin's elaborate discussion (*Kāvyādarśa* II. 226-234)¹¹ on the first half of the verse unmistakably shows that it

7 'विपुलामपि बुद्ध्या छन्दोविचितिं भवति कार्यमेतावत् ।

भृतिमुखददृत्तसंग्रहमिममाह वराहमिहिरोऽतः ॥'

8 Vide, for instance, Kedārabhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara* VI. 3 (...प्रस्तारोऽयं समाख्यातः छन्दोविचितिवेदमिः ॥) Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa commenting on this passage says 'छन्दोविचितिरङ्गदः शास्त्रम्'. Even previously, commenting on II. 11, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa makes an allusion to *Chandoviciti*—

छन्दोविचितौ त्वेकादशापरे गीतिभेदाः प्रदर्शिताः'

9 Viz., XIV and XV in the *Kāvyamālā* edition and XV and XVI in the Kashi Sanskrit Series edition. It is to the *Chandoviciti* section of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to which Subandhu refers in the *Vāṣavadattā*.

10 *Die orientalischen Literaturen*, p. 206, as mentioned in Keith's *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, 1947 edition, p. 67, fn. 1.

11 लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि वर्षतीवाञ्जनं नभः । इतीदमपि भूयिष्ठमुत्प्रेक्षालक्षणां वि-
तम् ॥ केषाञ्चिदुपमाभ्रान्तिरिवभ्रुत्येह जायते । नोपमानं तिङन्तेनेत्यतिक्रम्यासमाश्रितम् ॥
उपमानोपमेयत्वं तुल्यधर्मव्यपेक्षया । लिम्पतेस्तमसश्चासौ धर्मः कोऽत्र समीक्ष्यते ॥ यदि
लेपनमेवेष्टं लिम्पतिर्नाम कोऽपरः । स एव धर्मो धर्मा चेदुन्मत्तोऽपि न भाषते ॥ कर्ता
यदुपमानं स्यान्न्यग्भूतोऽसौ क्रियापदे । स्वक्रियासाधनव्यग्रो नालमन्यद् व्यपेक्षितुम् ॥
यो लिम्पत्यमुना तुल्यं तम इत्यपि शंसतः । अङ्गानीति न संबद्धं सोऽपि मृग्यः समो गुणः ॥
यथेन्दुरिव ते वक्त्रमिति कान्तिः प्रतीयते । न तथा लिम्पतौ लेपादन्यदत्र प्रतीयते ॥
तदुपलक्षणाथोऽयं लिम्पतिर्ध्वान्तकर्तृकः । अङ्गकर्मा च पुंसैवमुत्प्रेक्ष्यत इतीष्यताम् ॥ मन्ये
शङ्के ध्रुवं प्रायो नूनमित्येवमादिभिः । उत्प्रेक्षा व्यज्यते शब्दैरिवशब्दोऽपि तादृशः ॥

is furnished by him not as a fresh illustration of his own composition but as an already popular old citation which some of his predecessors had wrongly regarded as an example of *Upamā* while really it contained *Utprekṣā*. Further, the verse has lately been traced also in two of the thirteen Trivandrum plays, viz. the *Cārudatta* (I. 19) and the *Bālacarita* (I. 15), which, too, nothing less than the *Mṛcchakatika*, will have to be ascribed to Daṇḍin if Pischel's line of argument were accepted.

A mutilated and anonymous prose romance discovered and published¹² from the South about 25 years ago under the title *Avantisundarikathā*, guessed from the title of its broken metrical digest *Avantisundarikathāsāra* discovered and published simultaneously, has been ascribed by its editor¹³ to Daṇḍin on the basis of some evidence gathered from the prologue to the digest and partly because it deals with the same story as the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* of the *Daśakumāracarita*. The ascription has been accepted by some scholars, many¹⁴ of whom are inclined, rather than to declare the *Avantisundarikathā* as the requisite third work by Daṇḍin, to substitute it in place of the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* of the *Daśakumāracarita* which they suspect to be fabricated. A number of scholars,¹⁵ however, have challenged the ascription on very solid grounds and the question still remains uncertain. A final solution is likely when the entire text of the *Avantisundarikathā*, already announced to have been recovered¹⁶ by M. Rāmakrishna Kavi in Madras prior to 1937, is printed and made available to scholars. However, it is least likely to be conducive to the settlement of the requisite third work since the *Kathā*, even if it finally proved to be a composition by the celebrated Daṇḍin himself, could only replace the whole or a portion (viz. the *Pūrvapīṭhikā*) of the extant *Daśakumāracarita*.

12 Dakṣiṇabhārati Series No. 3, Madras, 1924. Vide also *Madras Triennial Catalogue* (1919-22), R. No. 3454.

13 M. Rāmakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri.

14 E.g., K. V. Lakshmana Rao in *Vividhajñānavistāra* (Marathi journal), vol. LIV, No. 8.

15 E.g., Keith: *HSL.*, p. 296 and Preface, p. xvi, S. K. De in *IHQ.*, vol. I, pp. 31 ff. and vol. III, pp. 394 ff., and others.

16 As stated by M. Krishnamachariar in his *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, p. 458.

Of late, however, scholars have brought to light the following passages from Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*:—

(i) दण्डिनो धनञ्जयस्य वा द्विसन्धाने.....

—Prakāśa VII

(ii).....रामायणमहाभारतयोर्दण्डिद्विसन्धानमिव.....

—Prakāśa IX

which reveal that Daṇḍin had composed a *Dvisandhānakāvya*, which is now almost lost to us and probably dealt per its double meanings in identical verses throughout with the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* respectively and also served as a model for the extant later *Dvisandhānakāvyas* of Dhanañjaya and Kavirāja. Although Daṇḍin's *Dvisandhānakāvya*, from which a verse

उदारमहिमारामः प्रजानां हर्षवर्धनः ।

धर्मप्रभव इत्यासीत्ख्यातो भरतपूर्वजः ॥

is also found cited in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, still remains to be bodily recovered, scholars have provisionally accepted it as the requisite third work by Daṇḍin, and the current view¹⁷ of a majority of scholars these days is inclined to identify Daṇḍin's three works mentioned by Rājaśekhara with 1. the *Kāvyaḍarśa*, 2. the *Daśakumāracarita* in the old bulk or with its *Pūrvapīṭhikā* replaced by the *Avantisundarīkathā*, and 3. the *Dvisandhānakāvya*.

However, there still remains in the field of the controversy one more work, independent or sectional, viz. the *Kalāpariccheda*, regarding which a final decision has not yet been reached. From *Kāvyaḍarśa* III. 171—

इत्थं कलाचतुःषष्टिविरोधः साधु नोयताम् ।

तस्याः कलापरिच्छेदे रूपमाविर्भव्यति ॥

it is quite evident that Daṇḍin refers to this *Kalāpariccheda* as a *projected* composition of his own. While some scholars long ago suggested it to be either a lost independent work to form the missing third work by Daṇḍin or only a missing part of the *Kāvyaḍarśa*, many still doubt if Daṇḍin really lived to carry out his said literary pledge and the *Kalāpariccheda* was actually composed at all at any time. P. V. Kane says¹⁸“.....He refers to a *Kalāpariccheda*,

17 Keith: *HSL*, Preface, p. xvi, Footnote 5, and others.

18 *History of Alankāra Literature*, pp. XXII-XXIV.

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which he contemplated writing, probably as a part of his *Kāvyādarśa* or as an independent work.....” “.....Some took the *Kalāpariccheda* as the third work. Whether Daṇḍin ever wrote a *Kalāpariccheda* (which was only contemplated when he wrote the *Kāvyādarśa*), whether it was an independent work and whether Rājaśekhara knew of any such work as a *Kalāpariccheda* by Daṇḍin are points that require to be established before the *Kalāpariccheda* can be fastened upon as Daṇḍin's third work.” Keith grants¹⁹ the possibility of the *Kalāpariccheda* being a chapter of the *Kāvyādarśa*, but in this respect places it only on the level of the really never extant *Chandoviciti* of Daṇḍin.

My main aim in this paper is to furnish a fresh and strong evidence to show that the said *Kalāpariccheda* was definitely composed and Daṇḍin's pledge in this respect did not remain unaccomplished.

Jagaddhara (between A.C. 1300 and 1400)²⁰ in his commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava*²¹ cites at least six technical passages under Daṇḍin's name. Of these, only three are directly traceable in the *Kāvyādarśa* as shown below:—

(i)...यद्वा, उदारता गुणभेदः । यदाह दण्डी—‘उत्कर्षवान् गुणः कश्चिदुक्ते यस्मिन् प्रतीयते । तदुदाराश्रयं तेन सनाथा काव्यपद्धतिः ॥’ इति ।...

—P. 8, com. on I. 10.

The citation is located at *Kāvyādarśa* I. 76 with v-l. उदाराह्वयम् for उदाराश्रयम् .

(ii)...इवोत्प्रेक्षायाम् । ‘उत्प्रेक्षा व्यज्यते शब्दैरिवशब्दोऽपि तादृशः’ इति दण्डी ।

—P. 11, com. on I. 11.

The citation is from *Kāvyādarśa* II. 234.

(iii)...तृणमिवेल्ल लिङ्गवचनभेदेनोपमादोषो भवति (=न भवति ?) । रसान्तर्गतत्वेन धीमतामनुद्वेगात् । ‘यत्रोद्वेगो न धीमताम्’ इति दण्डिवचनात् ।

—P. 103, com. on IX. 10.

Cf. *Kāvyādarśa* II. 51—

न लिङ्गवचने भिन्दे न हीनाधिकापि वा ।

उपमादूषणायां यत्रोद्वेगो न धीमताम् ॥

¹⁹ *HSL.*, p. 296.

²⁰ Vide P. K. Gode's papers on the date of this Jagaddhara in *JUB.*, vol. IX, pt. 2, pp. 116-125, and in *JSVOL*, vol. IV, pp. 71-73.

²¹ References in this paper are to NSP fifth edition of 1926.

The remaining three citations which could not be traced by me in the *Kāvyaṇḍarśa* are as follows:—

(iv)...इह नासारन्ध्रमिति वक्रव्येऽग्रग्रहणं तस्तस्य ऋटिति प्राप्या हर्षसूचनाय । यद्वा, रन्ध्रप्रवेशेऽग्रप्रवेशस्यार्थसिद्धस्यापि शब्देन कीर्तनादुक्तिपोष एवायमलंकारः । यदाह दण्डी—‘उक्तिपोषः । क्वचिदाक्षेपलब्धस्य साक्षाच्छब्देन कीर्तनात् ॥’ इति ।.....

—P. 1, com. on I. 1 सानन्दं नन्दि etc.

(v)...वचसां यत्प्रौढत्वं वाक्यार्थे पदं पदार्थे वाक्यं तत्कृतिः ।...यदाह दण्डी—‘पदार्थे वाक्यवचनं वाक्यार्थे च पदामिधा । प्रौढिव्याससमासी च सामिप्रायत्वमस्य च ॥’ इति ।

—P. 8, com. on I. 10.

(vi)...विहारः सौगन्धप्रवाजिकानामालयः । तत्र व्यापृता दासी विहारदासी । एतेन प्रकरणबाह्यत्वमुक्तम् । यदाह दण्डी—‘शकारः कुट्टिनी दासी धर्मशास्त्रबहिष्कृताः । विटचे-
 त्रादयो नित्यं बाह्याः प्रकरणे मताः ॥’

—P. 14, com. on माधवानुचरः कलहंसो नाम विहारदासीं मन्दारिकां कामयते, subsequent to I. 18.

As the citations in the last three extracts above cannot be located in any current recension of the *Kāvyaṇḍarśa*, some scholars might be inclined to regard them as unreliable and to attribute a gross error or confusion to Jagaddhara in respect of them. But probably it would be undue and unfair on our part to go to this extent. Standard old commentators of Jagaddhara's learning and achievements are not expected to furnish wrong or unauthentic citations. Most of their citations are duly traceable to their alleged sources and if some cannot be traced, the natural conclusion should rather be that the versions of the sources available to us are imperfect. In the case of Jagaddhara, too, most of his citations under the names of Bharata, Amara, Medinīkara, etc. are duly located in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Amarakośa*, the *Medinīkośa*, etc. Even his three citations under Daṇḍin's name²²

22 In his commentary on the *Veṇisambhāra* (I. 1), Jagaddhara cites two passages, one anonymously and the other explicitly under Daṇḍin's name, which are located in the *Kāvyaṇḍarśa* at II. 221 and 234 respectively. Vide NSP eighth edition of 1935, p. 2:—

...सामान्यतः पुष्पाणीह विवक्षितानि । प्रकुलताहेतुश्चोत्प्रेक्षितोऽन्यतस्य इव । अन्यथा चोत्प्रेक्षाया अप्रसङ्गः । उत्प्रेक्षा च—‘अन्यथैव स्थिता वृत्तिश्चेतनस्येतस्य वा । अन्यथोत्प्रेक्ष्यते या तु तामुत्प्रेक्षां विदुर्बुधाः ॥’ इति लक्षिता, इवशब्दश्चोत्प्रेक्षा-
 भिव्यञ्जकः । तथा च दण्डी—‘मन्ये शङ्के ध्रुवं प्रायो नूनमित्येवमादिभिः । उत्प्रेक्षा व्यज्यते शब्दैरिव शब्दोऽपि तादृशः ॥’ इत्यपरे ।

in the above extracts (i) to (iii) are duly traceable in the *Kāvyādarśa*. If those in extracts (iv) to (vi) are not found in the *Kāvyādarśa*, we should rather explain the situation by the probability that the entire original bulk of the *Kāvyādarśa* has not come down to us, as is the case with several other old works that were not in regular currency of old gurus and pāṭhaśālās, or that Daṇḍin also wrote some additional works.

If we make such provisions and concede that Jagaddhara's MS of the *Kāvyādarśa* had some additional matter, then we can with some efforts accommodate the two citations in extracts (iv) and (v) above somewhere in the extant chapters of the *Kāvyādarśa*, too. Thus the citation in extract (iv), which purports to declare a usual *doṣa* in poetry to obtain the status of an *alanākāra* under special circumstances, can be inserted, in the course of the treatment of the fault *Ekārtha*, just after *Kāvyādarśa* III. 136 or 138, the full reading of the insertion being something like—

कचिदान्तेपलब्धस्य साक्षाच्छब्देन कीर्तनात् ।

उक्तिपोषस्तु नो दोषः प्रत्युतेयमलङ्किया ॥

followed by an illustrative verse.

The citation पदार्थे वाक्यवचनं etc. in extract (v) is traced in Vāmana's *Kāvyālanākārasūtra* in the Vṛtti on III. 2.2 (अर्थस्य प्रौढिरोजः) and is also cited anonymously and discussed by Mammata in *Kāvyaprakāśa* VIII in the course of his rejection of ten Arthaguṇas. Vāmana's commentator Gopendratippabhūpāla, who flourished²³ after the 15th century, in his remark प्रौढिं पद्येन पञ्चधा प्रपञ्चयति—पदार्थ इति etc. in the *Kāmadhenu* seems to impose the authorship of this verse on Vāmana himself and old scholars like Durga Prasada Dviveda,²⁴ too, ascribe it to Vāmana himself. Still the citation of the verse under Daṇḍin's name by Jagaddhara who flourished about two centuries earlier than Gopendratippabhūpāla very strongly challenges this view, which is probably based on no other fact than that the verse is found in Vāmana's work. Vāmana is accustomed to furnish such verses in his Vṛtti, many times with the remark अत्र श्लोकः or तथा चाहुः or श्लोकाश्चात्र भवन्ति, and they appear to be quotations as P. V. Kane

²³ P. V. Kane: *HAL.*, p. L.

²⁴ Vide his Annotations on *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VIII, NSP fifth edition of 1931, pp. 464-465.

rightly observes.²⁵ Thus we may regard the verse वदार्थे वाक्यवचनं etc., too, as quoted by Vāmana from some earlier rhetorician who may be Daṇḍin himself as suggested by Jagaddhara's citation. Although it is not easy to accommodate the verse in the extant recension of the *Kāvyaṇḍarśa*, it may be somehow inserted in the course of the treatment of the *guṇa Ojas*, probably after I. 83.

With no stretch of imagination, however, can the citation in extract (vi) above be accommodated anywhere in the *Kāvyādarśa*, at any rate in its current chapters. The citation means: “Śākāra, Kuṭṭinī, Dāsī, persons excommunicated by (injunctions of ancient) legal codes, Viṭa, Ceṭī, etc. are always to be regarded as external characters in a Prakaraṇa.” It evidently concerns the treatment of the Prakaraṇa type of drama and the current extent of the *Kāvyādarśa* nowhere enters the field of dramaturgy.

Consequently, to justify this citation by Jagaddhara under Daṇḍin's name we have to assume that Daṇḍin also wrote an additional treatise, either in the form of an independent work or as a section, now obsolete, of the *Kāvyaṅdarśa* itself, wherein he, among other topics, also dealt with dramaturgy. *Kalāpariccheda* is exactly a treatise with such a scope. Its subject matter is Sixty-four Kalās or Arts and Crafts which include Nāṭya and Saṃgīta (i.e. Gīta, Vādyā and Nṛtya).

Although some of the ancient enumerations of the Sixty-four Kalās allot the fourth position to Nāṭya, their first three being Gīta, Vādyā and Nṛtyā, and a few place it still further, Daṇḍin's enumeration of the same is likely to have commenced with Nāṭya itself. Vide *Kāvyaadarśa* III. 169-171—

... ..

मार्गैः कलाविरोधस्य मनागुद्दिश्यते यथा ॥
वीरशृङ्गारयोर्भावौ स्थायिनौ क्रोधविस्मयौ ।
पूर्णसप्तस्वरः सोऽयं भिन्नमार्गः प्रवर्तते ॥
इत्थं कलाचतुःषष्टिविरोधः साधु नीयताम् ।
तस्याः कलापरिच्छेदे रूपमाविर्भविष्यति ॥

Here Dandin first proposes to furnish only a slight treatment (i.e. by way of illustration only) of the fault *Kalāvirodha* or Con-

trariness to *Kalā*. He then simply illustrates two sorts of *Kalāvirodha*, viz. *Nāṭyakalāvirodha* and *Gītakalāvirodha*. *Nāṭyakalāvirodha* occurs when, for instance, fury and wonder are depicted as permanent emotions of the sentiments *Vīra* and *Śṛṅgāra* respectively. *Gītakalāvirodha* occurs when, for instance, all the seven musical accents are stated to be employed synchronously in a scientific musical performance. In this manner, says Daṇḍin finally, should be well discerned all the respective cases of Contrariness to the Sixty-four *Kalās*; as regards these Sixty-four *Kalās*, their exhaustive treatment would appear in the *Kalāpariccheda*.

The prominence given by Daṇḍin to *Nāṭya*²⁶ among the Sixty-four *Kalās* would be clear enough from the foregoing. We should thus naturally expect an exhaustive treatment of Dramaturgy in his *Kalāpariccheda* and can therefore most safely assign Jagaddhara's citation (शकारः कुट्टिनी दासो etc.) under Daṇḍin's name in extract (vi) above to this very *Kalāpariccheda*²⁷.

Thus Jagaddhara's testimony, while urging a thorough scholarly search for a perfect recension of the *Kāvyādarśa*, makes a very strong case for the existence at some stage of Daṇḍin's *Kalāpariccheda*. As it is not insisted to grant an independent status to this *Kalāpariccheda*, which may have been only a subsequent chapter of the *Kāvyādarśa* itself, its existence thus established need not be taken to controvert the current view of scholars regarding Daṇḍin's three works.

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26 In this light, the reading नृत्यगीतप्रभृतयः कलाः कामादर्थभ्रयाः of *Kāvyādarśa* III. 162 may be suspected to be a corruption of नाट्यगीतप्रभृतयः etc.

27 In the light of this discussion, we may now take Daṇḍin as referring to this very *Kalāpariccheda*, and not to Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, in *Kāvyādarśa* I. 31 (मिश्राणि नाटकादीनि तेषामन्यत्र विस्तरः ।). Contrast P. V. Kane: *HAL.*, p. XXIII, and others, who compare this passage with Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* I. 24 (उक्तं तदभिनेयार्थमुक्तोऽन्यैस्तस्य विस्तरः ।).

Commerce and Industry in the Pre-Mughal Period

It is not easy for a man of the twentieth century to gauge and form a correct estimate of the actual dangers, difficulties, and hardships involved in the industrial and commercial activities of the mediaeval age. It was an age when there was no electricity, no railroad, no steam-going vessel, and no rapid transmission of intelligence by a regular postal system of the present day. Means of locomotion and transport were extremely slow, and merchandise could be conveyed from one place to another only by means of bullock-carts, horses or boats. Hence, commodities which can now be safely transmitted in two or three days, then required at least a month and that also fraught with innumerable obstacles. Roads were not only few in number and poor in quality but also infested with thieves and robbers of every description who waited in ambush to pounce upon the innocent merchants in any opportune moment and bolted away with whatever they could secure in money and goods. Sea provided no better protection, as Dr. Hallam says, "A pirate in a well-armed quick sailing vessel, must feel.....the enjoyments of his exemption from control more exquisitely than any other free-booter; and darting along the bosom of the ocean, under the impartial radiance of the heavens, may deride the dark concealments and hurried flights of the forest robber. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a rich vessel was never secure from attack, and neither, restitution nor punishment of the criminals was to be obtained from Governments, who sometimes feared the plunderer and sometimes connived at the offence."¹

Such was the condition of the age which we are going to survey, and when inspite of these serious handicaps merchants were found constantly plying in different ports of India with rich cargoes, it is due to the allurements of a good profit which was then much higher than this age of keen competition and which was sufficient to cover the risks and losses entailed en-route.

India was known from very ancient times to be one of the richest and most prosperous countries in the whole world, on whom "nature had poured forth her choicest gifts with the most partial profusion." Her

immense wealth in the shape of precious stones, pearls, gold and silver, her profuse productions in ordinary commodities of consumption like rice, wheat, cotton, sugarcane and spices, and her manufacture of the rare and fine articles of luxury attracted merchants from different parts of the globe even long before the Christian era. It was from this country that the Phoenician pilots of king Solomon's fleets took away "gold, silver, ivory, apes and peacocks."² Under the Ptolemies the Egyptians penetrated even into the interior of this country and plied their vessels as far as Pāṭaliputra. The magnitude of the commercial activities between India and Rome is quite apparent from the following words of Pliny, who says, "In no year does India drain our Empire of less than five hundred and fifty millions of sesterces (about £1,400,000), giving back her own wares in exchange, which are sold at fully one hundred times their prime cost."

Such commercial activities of India with foreign countries continued in one form or other, throughout the later period, and in the Muhammadan period, too, we find ships laden with rich merchandise anchoring at her coasts. The matter is fully borne out by foreign testimony although the contemporary Muhammadan historians are generally reticent on the subject.

During the Pre Mughal period both internal and external trade continued in all the important centres of the country, of course, with interruptions at times owing to misrule, civil war, and internal revolts. Articles of luxury as well as of every day consumption used to be supplied from one place to another according to demand and facilities of transport available; and the foreign merchants also used to visit the important marts or emporiums to purchase their commodities from the respective dealers. Except at sea coasts, business-centres were generally found along the banks of the navigable rivers like the Ganges and the Jamunā through which provisions might be carried on by boats, even to long distances. Articles were also despatched by land routes but it depended on various factors, viz., the nature of conveyance available, distances to be covered, general conditions of the roads and their safety. Commerce with foreign countries like Arabia, Persia, and Turkey went on by land route through the North-western passes as well as by sea.

2. R. H. Major, *India in the 15th Century*, p. ii.

But sea-borne trade played a more dominant part and the Indian ports, both in the north and the south, were visited by merchants of various countries of the world.

Bengal. Among the most important commercial centres of Northern India Bengal stands in the forefront. Its alluvial soil watered by the Ganges and its offshoots has ever proved to be fertile with a consequent abundance of nature's gifts, and here merchants came from diverse countries to partake of her bounty. In order to review its commercial importance it is first of all necessary to be acquainted with its natural products. Mahuan, an interpreter attached to the Chinese envoy Cheng Ho, who came to Bengal in 1406 A.D., says, "They (Bengalis) have two crops of rice a year. There is also a peculiar kind of rice, whose grain is long, wiry, and red. Wheat, sesamum, all kinds of pulse, millet, ginger, mustard, onions, hemp, quash, brinjals, and vegetables of many descriptions grow there in abundance. Their fruits are also many, viz., plantain, the jack-fruit, mangoes, pomegranates, sugarcane, granulated sugar, white sugar, and various candied and preserved fruits.....Not having any tea, they offer their guests the betel-nut in its place."³ He made mention also of mulberry tree and silkworms.

Among the local manufactures he mentions six kinds of fine cotton fabrics (muslin), silk handkerchiefs and caps, embroidered with gold, painted ware, basins, cups, steel, knives, scissors, and "a white paper from the bark of a tree which is smooth and glossy like a deer's skin."

The country which produced such a variety of provisions and articles of manufacture cannot but be an important commercial centre, and many of its inhabitants were engaged in trade with foreign countries in their own ships. Its chief exports were rice, sugarcane, sugar, ginger, millet, sesamum, silken stuffs and other sundry goods. About a century after Barbosa, a Portuguese, and Varthema, a native of Bologne, visited Bengal and both of them substantially corroborated Mahuan about the rich products of Bengal and the flourishing condition of its trade with foreign countries. Varthema says, "This country abounds more in grain, flesh of every kind, in great quantity of sugar, also of ginger, and of great abundance of cotton, than any country in the world. And here there are the richest merchants I ever met with. Fifty ships are laden every

year in this place with cotton and silk stuff.....These same stuffs go through all Turkey, through Syria, through Persia, through Arabia Felix, through Ethiopia and through all India. There are also here very great merchants in jewels, which come from other countries.”⁴

Barbosa, too, made mention of cotton, white sugar, sugarcane, ginger, preserves of ginger, oranges, lemons, long pepper, and different kinds of fine and delicate stuffs. He also spoke of the extensive trade which Bengal did with other parts of India, and Ceylon, the Indian Archipelago, Arabia, Persia, Abyssinia and so on. About the ships on which the merchants carried on their trade he said that some were of the same pattern as those of Mecca, and others of the Chinese build which they called juncos,—the latter were very large and carried large cargoes.⁵

The natural effect of such an ample produce in the necessities of life was cheapness throughout the country which is corroborated by all the foreign travellers visiting Bengal during the period under our review. Ibn Batuta, the Moorish traveller, who came here, about sixty years before Mahuan, said, “I never saw a country in which provisions were so cheap. I there saw one of the religious of the west, who told me, that he had brought provisions for himself and his family for a whole year with eight dirhems” (about 24 shillings).⁶ That the cost of living was extremely cheap and the people well off were corroborated by the subsequent testimony of Barbosa and Varthema.

Sind. It had several ports of importance where ships anchored with cargoes from Persia and some other foreign countries.⁷ Among its most important sea ports Deval occupied a prominent place. It was famous for abundance of fishes which were dried for consumption in the interior of the country and for export to other places. Among other articles of export were wheat, barley, cotton, cloth, and horses to different parts of India. Of the imports rice, sugar, sugarcane, timber, planks and some spices came here from other parts of India by sea. The importance of this port as the centre of trade between Ormuz and Cambay had been emphasised upon by all Arab historians.⁸

4 *The itenerary of Varthema* tr. by J. W. Jones with a discourse on Varthema and his travels in Southern India by R. C. Temple (1928), p. 79.

5 Duarte Barbosa, vol. ii, pp. 135-148.

6 Lees, *The travels of Ibn Bātutā*, p. 194.

7 Lees, *Ibn Bātutā*, p. 102-103.

8 Barbosa, vol. i, pp. 105-107.

Gujarat. On account of its great wealth, natural resources, and manufactures it had been of great commercial value from time immemorial. Its coasts were known to the ancient Alexandrian merchants. Wassaf described it as a rich, prosperous, and populous country with excellent cultivations in grapes and cotton.⁹ Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, also spoke highly of its extensive cotton cultivation and said that the cotton trees of this place grew full six paces in height, attaining to an age of twenty years. But cotton of those old trees was not good for spinning but could only be used for quilting or stuff-beds. Up to twelve years, of course, they produced spinning cotton of good quality. Pepper, ginger, wheat, great millet, chick-peas, and indigo also grew here in abundance.

Among the articles of manufacture were cushions, embroidered with gold of very fine quality and "beautiful mats in red and blue leather, exquisitely inlaid with figures of birds and beasts, and skilfully embroidered with gold and silver wire.

The above commodities along with carnelians, spikenard, tutiya, borax, opium and skins of various animals, such as, goat, buffalo and unicorns etc. formed the subject of export to foreign countries like Arabia, Persia, Indian Archipelago and China. But this place was extremely notorious for pirates of desperate nature. So, here merchants had to load and unload their cargoes with great caution and at great risks.¹⁰

On the Gujarat coast both Broach and Cambay were important ports. Cambay, which was twelve miles in circuit was specially famous for indigo. Barbosa's description of the various kinds of manufacture of this place deserves careful notice. He said that the place was rich in supplies and many rich Hindu and Muhammadan merchants lived here. Many "craftsmen of mechanic trades in cunning work" of different kinds, "as in Flanders," were to be found in great number. Silk cloth, coloured velvets of inferior quality, velvety satins and taffeties, thick carpets, woven cotton fabrics, fine and coarse, white and coloured, extensive ivory work of very delicate nature "in inlaid work" as well as "in turned articles" such as, bangles, chessmen, dice, chessboards and sword-hilts were done here with great skill. Very beautiful ivory bed-steads, and beds of many kinds—black, yellow, blue, and red,—false stones, imitation

9 Wassaf-Elliot, iii, pp. 31-32.

10 Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, pp. 392-394.

pearls, fine quilts, and "testers of beds finely worked and painted, and quilted articles" could also be had in plenty.¹¹ Among its other produces spikenard, lac, myrobolans and silk need special mention.

The chief exports of this place were indigo, hide, silk, various kinds of cloth; blankets, lac, and myrobolan, whereas its imports were gold, silver, and copper. Marco Polo was satisfied to see the good nature of the people and the safety of the port.¹²

Pulicat. It had a very rich trade, both import and export, of diverse articles and with countries far and near; musk, rubies, and spinel rubies of good quality were imported from Pegu. Copper, quicksilver, vermilion, rose-water, and Mecca velvets were among other commodities of its import from foreign countries. Printed cotton cloths of this place were of superior quality and they were particularly liked in Gujrat, the Malabar coast and in foreign countries like Malacca, Pegu and Sumatra.¹³

Vijayanagara.—In its palmy days the Vijayanagara Empire roughly extended from the Tungabhadra and Krishna on the north, to the Indian Ocean on the south, the east and the west as well were bounded by the sea. The capital of the empire which bore the same name was an important centre of commerce, and Abdur Razzaque, Nicolo Conti, Barbosa, Varthema and Paes, all speak of its great trade and prosperity. The very fact that "all the inhabitants of this country, both those of exalted rank and of an inferior class, down to the artizans of the bazar, wear pearls, or rings adorned with precious stones, in their ears, on their necks, on their arms, in the upper part of the hand, and on the finger,"¹⁴ shows that the people were sufficiently well off to purchase these costly articles. If the common people would have been poor, these must have been out of reach for them. In the capital city precious stones were brought from Pegu, and Ceylon, pearls and seed-pearls from Ormuz and Kail, and inferior brocades from China and Alexandria. Among its other imported articles were copper, quicksilver, vermilion, saffron, rose water, opium, sandal and aloe wood, camphor, and musk. Among spices pepper was in great demand which was met with by the Malabar merchants.¹⁵

¹¹ Barbosa, vol. I, pp. 135-142

¹² Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 398; Nicolo Conti, p. 20; Nikitin, p. 19; Santo Stefano, p. 9.

¹³ Barbosa, vol. ii, pp. 129-132.

¹⁴ Abdur Razzaque, p. 26.

¹⁵ Barbosa, vol. i, p. 203.

Bidār. After Kulbargā it was the capital of the Bahmani empire for about a century. It was famous from ancient times for a kind of damascened work known as the Bidri ware, whose ground-work was a composition of copper, lead and tin, on which gold and silver ornaments were laid. This city was a great mart of internal trade. Athnasiaus Nikitin, a Russian merchant, who visited it in 1470 A.D. said that its trade consisted of horses, cloths, silks, and all sorts of other merchandise; and we know, on the same authority that no commerce with any foreign country was carried on here, only Indian goods were sold and purchased.¹⁶

The names of Surat, Thana, Chaul, Goa, Calicut, and Dabhol in the Ratnagiri District deserve special mention as important centres of trade in those days.

We need not go further into the details of trade of each place, but from a perusal of all the available sources we are in a position to form an idea of the extensive commerce which India carried on with foreign countries during the Pre-Mughal period. The very fact that the kingdom of Vijayanagara alone had about 300 ports within its jurisdiction is a sufficient proof of this assertion.¹⁷ We find that the whole coast line of India on the east, west and south was interspersed by a chain of sea-ports. As we have seen above, export and import consisted both in agricultural produce and articles of manufacture including those of luxury. Among the agricultural produce different kinds of spices, cotton, rice, wheat, sugarcane, aromatic roots, indigo, myrobolans etc. and among the commodities of manufacture fine muslin, silken goods, caps embroidered with gold, cups, knives, scissors, fine buckrams, blankets, embroidered cushions, hides, ivory works, large bedsteads of fine workmanship and other sundry articles were found to have been exported from different parts of India to far off foreign countries. Among the principal commodities of imports by different seaports were gold, silver, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, rubies, musk, scarlet cloth, coral, saffron, rose water, opium, velvets, pearls, camphor, and sandal wood etc.

Generally the ruling heads did not allow export of gold, silver, copper, diamonds, rubies and pearls. Hence do we find so much accumulation of wealth in the form of these precious articles both in the north and in

¹⁶ *India in the 15th century—Travels of Nikitin*, p. 12.

¹⁷ *Abdur Razzaque*, p. 22.

the south. It was the vast treasures of the south more than anything else that attracted Allauddin to lead an expedition in that far off unexplored country,—as Professor Aiyengar points out, to make it the milch cow for the gold. His ambition was amply rewarded, and he received an abundant quantity of pearls, gold, jewels and silvers which only intoxicated him for further invasions of this wealthy country. The following lines of Masalik-ul-Absar of Shahabuddin is interesting as direct evidence of non-exportation of gold from India, he says, “As regards India.....that country has not exported gold into other countries for the last three thousand years¹⁸ and whatever has entered it has never come out again. Merchants of all countries never cease to carry pure gold into India, and to bring back in exchange commodities of herbs and gums.¹⁹”

Organization of commerce

Trade both by land and sea was carried on by the Hindu and Muhammadan merchants alike. Among the Hindu merchants the banias of Gujrat and the Chettis of the Coromandel coast were the most important. They lived throughout the country, in the north as well as in the south, wherever there was brisk commerce. Both of these classes of people were very rich, had ships of their own and sailed out to distant foreign countries with cargoes in their own vessels. The former established themselves even in Cochin, the Red-sea ports, and other distant places. The latter generally spread over the Straits, and the Archipelago, leaving aside the the country west of India. Barbosa's descriptions of these two classes of people deserve notice. About the Chettis he says, “They are tawny men, almost white, and fat. The more part of them are great merchants, and they deal in precious stones, seed-pearls, and corals, and other valuable goods, such as gold and silver, either coined or to be coined. This is their principal trade, and they follow it because they can raise or lower the prices of such things many times; they are rich and respected; they lead a clean life.....They go naked from the waist up, and below gather round them long garments many yards in length, little turbans on their heads and long hair gathered under the turban. Their

¹⁸ He is correct in what he says about India of the Muhammadan period, but he is no authority for the Hindu period.

¹⁹ Elliot, II, p. 583.

beards are shaven, and they wear finger marks of ashes mixed with sandal-wood and saffron on their breasts, foreheads and shoulders. They have wide holes in their ears, into which an-egg would fit, which are filled with gold, with many precious stones; they wear many rings on their fingers, they are girt about with girdles of gold and jewellery and ever carry in their breast great pouches in which they keep scales and weights of their gold and silver coins and precious stones. Their sons also begin to carry them as soon as they are ten years of age, they go about changing small coins. They are great clerks and accountants, and reckon all their sums on their fingers. They are given to usury, so much so that one brother will not lend to another a ceital,²⁰ without making a profit thereby. They are sober and orderly in eating and spending. They speak a tongue which differs from that of Malabar as it is with the Castilians and Portuguese."

About the banias of Gujrat the same author says "This people eats neither flesh nor fish, nor anything subject to death; they slay nothing, nor are they willing even to see the slaughter of any animal.....on the other hand, they are great usurers.....they are tawny men, tall and well-looking, gaily attired, delicate and moderate in their food.....wheresoever they dwell they have orchards and fruit gardens and many water tanks wherein they bathe twice a day.....They grow very long hair, as women do with us, and wear it twisted up on the head and made it a knot, and over it a turban, that they may keep it always held together; and in their hair they put flowers and other sweet-scented things." They use to anoint themselves with white sandal-wood mixed with saffron and other scents. They are a very amorous people,.....and are much given to golden earrings set with many precious stones, rings on their fingers, and golden girdles over their clothes."²¹

The Muhammadan traders were found throughout the country and in good numbers. Their trade was extensive with foreigners in the east as well as in the west of India. Among them Barbosa speaks of a particular class of merchants who were then inhabitants of Calicut and known as Pardesy, but formerly residents of other parts of the Deccan, Gujrat and foreign countries like Arabia and Persia. They were rich merchants

²⁰ A very small Portuguese coin of copper during the reign of D. Joao II (1481-1495).

²¹ Barbosa, vol. i, pp. 111-113; vol. ii, pp. 71-73, 177.

possessing large sailing vessels of their own. Every year in the month of February they loaded ten or fifteen ships with pepper, ginger, cardamoms, cinnamon, canafistula, precious stones, seed pearls, myrobolans, tamarinds, musk, ambergris, rhubarb, aloe wood, cotton cloths and porcelain, and sailed out to Aden, the Red-sea ports, and Mecca. After selling these articles they returned to Calicut from August to the middle of October of the same year, but during the return journey they came back with their ships laden with gold, silver, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, coral, saffron, coloured camlets, and many other precious articles. This class of merchants flourished well before the settlement of the Portuguese in India, but with the settlement of the latter they dwindled away.²²

Overland trade in bulky goods, such as grain, was mainly in the hands of the people known as Banjaras, who carried their commodities from one place to another on pack-oxen.

State Industries

We had above sufficient acquaintance with the manufactures of different places of India. The state gave liberal encouragement to industries, and moreover, as it required a great many articles including those of luxury for the use of the Royal family as well as distribution to the nobles and officers of high rank, it had to finance and maintain Karkhanas or workshops to get a steady and regular supply throughout the year. Of the state manufactory during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak Masalik says that 400 silk weavers were employed at Delhi to make stuffs of all kinds for the dresses and robes of honour and presents to the nobles; the emperor distributed 200,000 complete dresses annually—100,000 in spring and 100,000 in autumn. The spring dresses were mainly imported from Alexandria and those of the autumn, which were almost exclusively of silk, were manufactured at Delhi; but some of them also came from China and Iraq. Five hundred manufacturers of golden tissues were engaged to weave gold brocades for the Royal household and the nobility.²³ Feroj Tughlak also spent large sums of money for the manufacture of dresses, costly carpets, and the like.

The Delhi empire showed visible signs of decline during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak and the two distant provinces—Bengal and the

²² Barbosa, vol. ii, pp. 76-77.

²³ Elliot, vol. III, pp. 356, 578

Deccan—were separated from it, and they established suzerainty of their own in the middle of the 14th century. Once the centrifugal forces at work and the weakness of the central Government revealed, the provincial governors, one after the other, threw off the allegiance of the Central government and asserted their independence. Thus came into existence the independent kingdoms of Khandesh in 1388 A.D., Gujrat about 1401 A.D., Jaunpur in 1399 A.D., and Malwa in 1401 A.D. Kashmir, Rajputana, Orissa and Vijayanagara had kings of their own. Moreover, the break-up of the Bahmani empire towards the latter end of the 15th century brought in five independent kingdoms in the Deccan. The headquarters of them all must have been provided with factories of their own to meet the demands of their respective Royal households as well as of the customary distribution of dresses to the nobility and other officers of rank. Many factories were thus distributed throughout India, and in absence of any machinery, output was generally slow everywhere, necessitating the employment of a far larger number of men than it would have been the case with us at the present day.

Thus after a careful perusal of all the above materials, we find that both industry and commerce flourished in our country in the period under review. There might have been occasional years of scarcity, but, on the whole, the country enjoyed prosperity and abundance. The large volume of trade and industry carried on throughout the length and breadth of the country undoubtedly point out the employment of a good number of men, and hence was solved the bread problem of millions of people, even beside those who had to depend solely on the raw agricultural produces of lands.

JOGINDRA NATH CHOWDHURI

Kālidāsa's Treatment of Nature in *Rtusamhāra*

The rising Sun, the waning moon, the starry heavens, dancing peacocks, roaring lions, different seasons with their varying floral wealth and divergent characteristics—these produce certain impressions on man's mind and are viewed differently by different individuals. Kālidāsa views the varied phenomena of nature as correlated parts of a whole and observes a unity underlying the manifest variety in nature, which is a necessary complement of life. This aspect is nowhere better revealed than in the *Rtusamhāra*, which describes the part which different phases of nature play in the efflorescence of love.

The blazing summer scorches up the earth, and the hot blowing winds shrivelled up all animate and inanimate nature, spreading a pall of burning sand on the face of the earth.¹ The ponds run dry and are filled with mire and mud;² and there is everywhere scarcity of water, and all vegetation seems killed. Desolate looks the land with no green anywhere, no shoots and tendrils, no fruits and flowers.³ Fauna suffers equally with flora. Scorched by heat and thirsty, animals come out of their lairs and hiding spots in search of water.⁴ Exhausted and weak,⁵ they forget their natural enmity with one another:⁶ thus serpents have frogs squatting on them⁷ and they themselves lie safe in the shade of peacocks,⁸ lions stand near elephants, but do not strike,⁹ monkeys run amock in the forest¹⁰ and cattle wander about hither and thither.¹¹ Thus the life of fauna and flora are alike rendered lethargic, though not brought to a standstill, so enervating is the dread summer. Yet it is not void of its bright side, for it sprouts up love. Breezy evenings, glorious moonlight,¹² moonstones dripping water,¹³ precious stones radiating cool colourful lustre,¹⁴ pleasant baths in lotus ponds or under sprays, soothing sandalwood paste¹⁵ wafting its sweet fragrance all round,¹⁶ inviting open terraces bathed in moonlight,¹⁷ intoxicants first sipped¹⁸ and then handed

* The Roman numbers refer to the chapters and the ordinary numbers to the verses of the *Rtusamhāra*.

1 I-10.

4 I-11.

7 I-18.

10 I-23.

13 I-2.

16 I-8.

2 I-19.

5 I-14.

8 I-13, 16.

11 I-21, 23.

14 *Ibid.*

17 I-9.

3 I-22.

6 I-27.

9 I-14.

12 I-12.

15 *Ibid.*

18 I-3.

over by lovely damsels, instrumental music of the *Viṇa*—these engender one emotion only—the emotion of love, which alone makes life worth living. In this relentless season, ladies adorn themselves with a simple necklace,²⁰ with golden bangles and waistbands²¹ and with anklets which jingle as they move about²² and dress themselves in white silk,²³ thick garments being laid aside:²⁴ they are thus *Parimitabhūṣā* and *Parimitaveṣā*. Irresistible are their charms and everybody succumbs; indeed even the moon, seeing them again and again as they lie in all their glory asleep on mansion tops after langorous sex-act, becomes sad and pales away towards dawn!²⁵ And no wonder love must thrive, for if this languishes like fauna and flora, life and with it nature will languish and may die. Here, then, is resuscitation planned through love which links up both man and nature.

Varṣa is the season *par excellence* for the growth and development of love. It is *bahugunāramanīya*—delightful on account of its manifold good qualities; *kāminīcittahārī*—stealing the hearts of women; *taruṣṭa-palatānām bāndhavaḥ*—the friend of trees and creepers; and lastly *prāṇinām prāṇadātā*—the giver of life to the living²⁶ This is a significant description, and it reveals the place which nature holds in the scheme of life—an aspect which is stressed at the very beginning, when it is described as the friend of lovers and vegetation.²⁷ The advent of *Varṣa* is described as the coming in of a great king in state with elephants in the form of clouds, flags and festoons in the form of flashes of lightning and martial music in the form of rumbling thunder.²⁸ The most outstanding feature of the season is the presence of clouds of different kinds,²⁹ the dance of peacocks,³⁰ and the richness and variety of flora,³¹ and the season is thoroughly humanised, when it is described as a lover adorning his beloved with flowers.³² Some clouds glisten like antimony, some gleam like *Kūvalaya* flowers, while others hang low like the bosom of pregnant women³³ and are moved about by the breeze—adorned with rainbows, rumbling thunder and showering rains.³⁴ And these

19 *Ibid.*

22 I-5.

25 I-9.

28 *Ibid.*31 *Ibid.*

34 II-4

20 I-4, 5.

23 I-4.

26 II-28.

29 II-2.

32 II-24.

21 I-6.

24 I-7.

27 II-1.

30 *Ibid.*

33 II-2.

affect lovers,³⁵ steep the separated lovers in misery,³⁶ spread darkness over the earth, but light up the way for *Abhisārikās* with their lightning,³⁷ reunite angry lovers,³⁸ and like a lover deck women with ornaments, with wreaths and with fragrance.³⁹ Under the benign influence of this friend and life-giver, the earth decks herself with green verdure, lovely shoots and beautiful flowers and looks like a damsel in colourful garments.⁴⁰ Rivers and streams filled with muddy waters rush hither and thither, tearing down everything before them like amorous women, impassioned and wicked.⁴¹ Forests seem horripilated with fresh greens, grazed by deer and with trees in blossom, filled with humming bees.⁴² Adorned with *Kadambaka* and *Ketakas* in bloom and trees dancing in the breeze,⁴³ they breathe happiness. These and the glades filled with grazing deer drive man and woman love mad.⁴⁴ Mountains with their rocky boulders washed clean and their sides adorned with foaming streams of necklaces, with peacocks dancing to the tune of thunder madden the love-lorn—a madness which is accentuated by the breeze, cool with rain drops and fragrant with the perfume of *Nīpa* and *Sarga* and *Arjuna* and *Ketaka*⁴⁵ and moaning in contact with vegetation and hum of bees.⁴⁶ The grazing deer, the dancing peacocks and the elephants in rut only add to love's longings.⁴⁷ Great is the floral wealth of the season: *Nīpa*, *Sarga*, *Arjuna*, *Ketaka*,⁴⁸ *Kesara*, *Kadamba*, *Kakubha*,⁴⁹ *Kuvalaya*,⁵⁰ and *Yūthika*⁵¹—these are in plenty and womenfolk use them freely. Thus they adorn their hair with *Kadamba*, *Kesara* and *Ketaka*, their ears with the shoots of *Kakubha* and *Arjuna*,⁵² and, clad in white silk with their perfumed hair streaming down to the waist, with their breasts adorned with pearl necklaces and with their mouth fragrant with honey and their hearts filled with love—they madden men.⁵³ Thus is *Varṣa* presented, the giver of *Prāṇa* to all alike; and in thus presenting him, there is throughout a process of humanisation. The season fulfills a great purpose—the enrichment of life and love, on which depends continuity of life: it is presented as literally *Prāṇadātā*.

35 *Ibid.*

38 II-11.

41 II-7.

44 II-9.

47 II-15.

50 II-22.

53 II-19.

36 II-12, 22.

39 II-25.

42 II-8.

45 II-17.

48 II-17.

51 II-23.

37 II-10.

40 II-5.

43 II-23.

46 II-26.

49 II-29.

52 II-18.

Sarat glorifies this great and powerful emotion. Every phase of nature breathes feminine beauty and radiates love's longings, thus carrying forward in a richer measure the function of *Varṣa*. The season comes with all the glories of womanhood, as the poet sees it. The ripe *Sālī* corn is her body, the full-blown lotus is her face, the *Kāśa* flower is her raiment, the cackling of swans is the jingling of her anklets, *Utpalas* are her glancing eyes. *Bandhūkas* are her coral lips and *Kumudas* are her ornaments.⁵⁴ The earth, adorned with these varied flowers, the night with the moon, streams with swans, ponds with lotus and lilies, forests with *Saptacchadas* and gardens with *Mālātī* flowers—each by itself and all together instill the longings of love in every heart,⁵⁵ which is responsive to this tender emotion. The star spangled sky, freed of clouds and adorned with the moon, looks like the blue waters adorned with lotus and swans,⁵⁶ and glistening like antimony,⁵⁷ possesses the glory of a king, fanned by chowries in the form of clouds moving about, white like silver and conch shells and void of rainbows and lightnings and to which cranes do not fly up and which peacocks care not to look up.⁵⁸ The night like a woman clad in moonlight, decked with the flowers of stars and possessed of the face of the moon,⁵⁹ the breeze blowing over trees laden with fruits and flowers and ponds full of lotus in blossom⁶⁰ and thus rendered gentle and fragrant,⁶¹ cultivated lands rich with corn and cattle standing still and birds chirping,⁶² gardens fragrant with *Sephālīka* flowers and alive with the glancing eyes of the deer⁶³ the *Kovidāra* tree like a woman with its waving hair of branches, hands of creepers, fingers of shoots and bees of lovers hovering about humming for honey,⁶⁴ creepers bowed down with flowers glorious like woman's hands, the freshly blossomed *Navamālīka* possessed of the charms of a woman's smile⁶⁵ ponds with swans cackling and lotus in bloom⁶⁶ which at sunrise looks like the happy face of a woman by the side of her lover and pales away at sunset like the smile of a love-lorn maid,⁶⁷ swans robbing woman of gait, lotus of her face, *Utpalas* of her eyes and waves her darting brows,⁶⁸ rivers flowing, like impassioned woman with the

54 III-26.

57 III-22.

60 III-10.

63 III-14.

67 III-23.

55 III-2, 5.

58 III-12.

61 III-25, 22.

64 III-16.

68 III-17.

56 III-21.

59 III-7.

62 III-16.

65 III-11.

Mekbala of *Saphari* fish, *Hāras* of cranes, *Nitambas* of banks,⁶⁹—whom do these not make love-mad? And in this glorious setting are presented women with their rich bosoms adorned with necklaces and Candana, slender waists with girdles of gold, feet with resounding anklets,⁷⁰ streaming hair with *Mālātī* flowers, and ears with *Nilotpala*.⁷¹ Maddening is the season of love and man and woman run about love-mad. Here is one phase of the great poet's treatment of nature: it paints feminine beauty in fauna and flora as well as in clouds, rivers, winds and sky, thus representing every aspect of nature as love-mad. Here is nature completely humanised.

No less rich and powerful is the appeal which nature makes in *Hemanta*, only the objects of attraction differ. Trees put forth new shoots and tendrils, and new vegetation appears.⁷² The *Sāli* corn stands ripe,⁷³ *Lodhra* flowers bloom in plenty,⁷⁴ *Priyaṅgu* pales in glory, like a love lorn maid,⁷⁵ the blue lotus and *Kadamba* bloom, the ponds are full of water, clear and cool,⁷⁶ and the outskirts of forests are alive with deer and *Krauñca* birds.⁷⁷ Thus stands nature happy and smiling and impassions the lover. *Hemanta* is the season of love in enjoyment. Women apply *Kāliyaka* to their bodies, tattoo their faces, perfume their hair,⁷⁸ adorn their bosoms with saffron and *Hāras*,⁸⁰ put aside their anklets and girdles,⁸¹ remove their bangles, silks and muslins⁸² and lie locked in the arms of their lovers, their mouths fragrant with honey and minds filled with love.⁸³ Here is love in enjoyment depicted under the maddening influence of the season.

Equally conducive to love is the *Sisīra* season, rich in *Sāli* corn and sugar cane, which drives lovers back to their beloved.⁸⁴ Mansions have their windows shut and womenfolk enjoy the blazing fire inside or the Sun outside,⁸⁵ but eschew sandalpaste, moonlight, breezes, mansion tops,⁸⁶ and starry nights,⁸⁷ wear heavy jackets and over them garments of varied colours, adorning their hair with only flowers;⁸⁸ use *Tāmbūla* and

69 III-3.

72 IV-1.

75 IV-10.

78 IV-18.

81 IV-4.

84 IV-16.

87 V-4.

70 III-20.

73 IV-1, 8.

76 IV-9.

79 IV-5.

82 IV-3.

85 V-2.

88 V-8.

71 III-19.

74 IV-1.

77 IV-8.

80 IV-2.

83 IV-4.

86 V-6.

garlands, perfume their mouths with honey and retire to their rooms fragrant with *Kālāguru* incense;⁸⁹ ignore the faithlessness of their lovers in their impassioned condition,⁹⁰ drink honey⁹¹ and spend the long nights in blissful love activities and become weak and tired and then roll about their rooms at dawn,⁹² while their lovers sleep beside them covered by the warmth of their swelling bosoms⁹³ adorned by *Kumkum*; with their hair streaming down with floral garlands,⁹⁴ they look like the goddess of prosperity herself,⁹⁵ heavy-bosomed, heavy-hipped and hence proceeding slowly. Thus the *Sīsira* season is the season for sex enjoyment and is filled with love activities.

Vasanta is the season of love and love activities, the season which no lover can withstand. The season is pictured as a warrior with his arrows of mango shoots and the bow string of bees come to conquer the minds of the amorous.⁹⁶ He presents a very attractive appearance with trees in blossom, with ponds filled with blooming lotus, with fragrant breezes, with pleasant days, with pleasanter evenings and delightful nights.⁹⁷ Dressed in red⁹⁸ or multi-coloured garments of light silk, with *Karṇikāra* flowers on their ears, *Aśoka* in their curls, jasmine in their hair, with faces adorned with tattooed marks,⁹⁹ with breasts adorned with *Hāras* and sandal-paste,¹⁰⁰ with hands adorned with bangles and waists with *Mekhalās*,¹⁰¹ women appear amorous and impassioned,¹⁰² their pallour adding to their charms;¹⁰³ they loosen their garments and indulge in love yawns¹⁰⁴ with langorous eyes,¹⁰⁵ coquettish words and crooked glances.¹⁰⁶ The *Kuyil* on the mango trees and the bee about the lotus, each kissing its own beloved,¹⁰⁷ mango trees bowed down with fresh shoots and flowers,¹⁰⁸ the flowers sucked by bees and shoots shaken by the breeze,¹⁰⁹ the red of the *Aśoka* tree,¹¹⁰ the shoots of the *Kuravaka*,¹¹¹ the cuckoo singing and the bees humming,¹¹² the blossomed *Kimśuka* and the *Karṇikāra*¹¹³ the *Kunda* like a woman smiling,¹¹⁴ the breeze

89 V-5.

92 V-7.

95 V-13.

98 VI-4.

101 VI-3, 6.

104 VI-9.

107 VI-14.

110 VI-16.

113 VI-28.

90 V-6.

93 V-9.

96 VI-1.

99 VI-17.

102 VI-8.

105 VI-10.

108 VI-15.

111 VI-18.

114 VI-23.

91 V-10.

94 V-12.

97 VI-2.

100 VI-12.

103 VI-9.

106 VI-13.

109 VI-17.

112 VI-21.

shaking the branches of the mango trees and carrying far the songs of the cuckoo—these madden lovers and drive them back to the sides of the beloved. Maddening likewise are the varied trees, yielding varied flowers and delightful with the songs of birds, the hill-sides of mountains clothed in variegated colours¹¹⁵ and the earth dressed in red.¹¹⁶ Such is *Vasanta*, the premier season of love: nature blooms in flowers and human minds in love, and both yield their richest fruits.

Seasons come and go, and nature puts on different phases during different seasons; but every phase is conducive to the efflorescence of love which alone thrives in all seasons. These phenomenal phases of nature thus instill and accentuate love and perpetuate its activity and thus ensure the continued flow of the river of life, so that creation may move onwards to its predestined end.

K. R. PISHAROTI

MISCELLANY

A Copper-plate grant of Rāṇā Arisimha to Ahilyabai Holkar

An inscribed copper-plate measuring 11¼" by 7", formerly lying in the Huzur Jawahirkhana, Indore, has recently been transferred to the Indore Museum. The Devanāgarī inscription which it contains is of sixteen lines and on the Mewadi-Sanskrit language. It begins with invocation to the gods Rāma, Gaṇeśa and Ekalingaji and states that by orders of Mahārājādhirāja Mahārāṇā Arisimhaji a grant of three villages named Vinotā, Keli and Tāṭarmāl was made to Ahilyabai Holkar as a brother's gift to his sister, on the ninth day of the bright half of Caitra in V.S. 1827. The grantor by swearing in the name of the god Ekalingaji commands his descendants to continue the grant.

Mahārāṇā Arisimhaji was no doubt the Ruler of Udaipur, who ruled from V.S. 1817 to 1829.

The day on which the grant was made was the Rāma-navamī which has been specially auspicious to the Udaipur Mahārāṇā's family, which claims descent from the hero Rāmacandra of the solar race. The grant is said to have been made by the Mahārāṇā as a brother's gift to his sister (for Kāchali) in as much as he considered Ahilyabai Holkar of Indore as his sister.

The following also might be the reason of the Mahārāṇā's entertaining brotherly feelings for Ahilyabai. We know that Arisimhaji had in the latter part of his reign a rival named Ratnasimha whose claim to the Udaipur Gadi was supported by Mahadji Sindhia and the ruler of Jaipur. Arisimha applied to the Peshwa of Poona for help, which was given. A battle was fought between the two armies on 31-1-1769 in which Arisimha was defeated. Subsequently, Mahadji Sindhia besieged Udaipur for six months but after taking a tribute of sixty lacs of rupees raised the siege and went to Malwa on 21-7-1769 (*Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, vol. 29, p. 243). In this quarrel Ahilyabai Holkar might have espoused the cause of Arisimha and rendered him good help, for which Arisimha must have been always grateful to her.

None of the three villages is now included in the territories of H.H. Maharaja Holkar, the descendant of Ahilyabai. They are now included in the Tonk State, which had originally formed part of the Holkar territories.

A doubt can be entertained about the authenticity of this grant. Ahilyabai's name is not preceded by any honorific epithet. The villages ought to have been included in the list of villages and parganas forming the private Inam of Ahilyabai and her successors. Thirdly it is found that the Udaipur State records do not give any information of such a grant.

Text

श्रीरामोजीयति

श्रीगणेशप्रसादात्

श्रीऐकलिंगप्रसादात्

—४—→

सही

महाराजाधिराज महाराणा श्रीअरसिंहजी आदेसात् अहेल्याबाई हुलकर कस गाम
३ तीन घेमास्त दीथे हिवेन जाणे काचलीरी आमे अषरा घास मया कीदो हे लागत वीलगत
सख सुदी सो दरबारथी कणो बातरी चोलणव्हेगा नही मारा बेटा पोताई गाम ऊतारेगा
नही ऊतारे जणीहे श्रीऐकलिंगजीरो आण हे वीगत ।

गाम वीनोतो

गाम केली

गाम टाटरमालो

प्रत दुवे श्रीजुररा हुकमथी लीषत पचोली गौरधरलाल गुलाबोन षवत १८२७ वीरष
चेत सुदी ६

D. B. DISKALKAR

Sūrya and Śiva

The cultural conquest of the "pacific world" by India in ancient times, is a fascinating subject for study. Recent research has proved beyond doubt, the existence of various Indian religious systems, in the Pacific islands like Sumatra, Java, Bali etc., in early times, and it is now generally admitted by all impartial observers, that these Indian faiths exercised a deep influence over the early civilizations of those areas. So far as the Brahmanical religions are concerned, we find them, firmly planted in Java as early as the eighth century A.D.¹ The most prominent among these, was "Śaivism" or the worship of Śiva, as it would appear from the discovery of a large number of Śiva temples and Śiva images from all over the island. Among the minor deities of the Hindu

1 R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Pt. II, pp. 99 ff.

pantheon, also worshipped at this period, was Sūrya or the Sun-god whose images, holding a lotus and seated on a chariot drawn by seven horses, have also been recovered.² But the most interesting feature of the worship of Śiva and also that of Sūrya, in ancient Java, seems to have been, the occasional identification of these two deities, as indicated by the rites and ceremonies and mantras used in connection with Sūrya-sevana or the worship of the Sun. Thus according to one reading of the Kūṭra-mantra, we have:—

“ओम् हा हीं सः शिवसूर्यपरन्तेजस्वरूपाय नमः ।”

Regarding this mantra, Dr. R. C. Majumdar has made the following observation, “This is interesting, as showing the identity of Śiva and Sūrya and thereby explaining the inner significance of the Sūrya-worship.”³ Dr. Majumdar, in his admirable work on *Suvarṇadvīpa*, has not however made any attempt to trace the origin of this very interesting conception of the identity of Śiva and Sūrya. From what evidence, literary and epigraphic, we have, it appears that this peculiar religious conception, was the outcome of no local influence, but was probably carried to Java from India, just in the same manner as Saivism and Sun-worship were carried to that island.

In the Purāṇic literature, we have clear evidence of an attempt to identify the Sun with Śiva, particularly in the *Saura-Purāṇa*. The *Saura-Purāṇa* is an Upapurāṇa of the *Brahma-Purāṇa* and is named after the Sun. It was noticed however by Winternitz that its main purpose was to glorify god Śiva.⁴ The same scholar significantly remarks, “In many places however, Śiva is identified with the Sun god, who reveals the Purāṇa, or else the Sun-god recommends Śiva-worship.” A study of the *Saura-Purāṇa*, at once convinces us of the truth of the above statement. It is a fact that this work praises Śiva and describes the advantages of Śiva worship, in almost extravagant terms. The superiority of Śiva to nearly all other deities of the Hindu pantheon is also sought to be established. The whole text is in a sense full of glorification of Śiva. As instances we may refer to chapters, 2, 38, and 46 and quote some relevant passages thereof. In the second chapter we read⁵—

2 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

4 Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, p. 536.

5 *Saura Purāṇa* 2. 6-11 (Vaṅgavāsī ed. p. 5).

आत्मभूतान्महादेवालीलाविग्रहरूपिणः ।
 आदिसर्गे समुद्भूतौ ब्रह्मविष्णु सुरोत्तमौ ॥
 तमेकं परमात्मानमादिकर्तारमीश्वरम् ।
 प्रादुर्बहुविधं तज्ज्ञा इन्द्रं मित्र इति श्रुतिः ॥
 न तस्मादधिकः कश्चिन्नखीयानपि कश्चन ।
 तेनेदमखिलं पूर्णं शङ्करेण महात्मना ॥
 मुमुक्षुभिः सदा ध्येयः शिव एको निरञ्जनः ।
 सर्वमन्यत् परित्यज्य मुक्त एव विमुच्यते ॥
 धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां प्रायणे कारणं परम् ।
 शिवभक्तिः सदा सत्यं नान्यत् किञ्चन भूतले ॥
 तिलोक्यां सुखकामो यस्तेन पूज्यः सदा शिवः ।
 शिवभक्तिमृते सौख्यं कुतः स्यात् सर्वदेहिनाम् ॥

In the thirty-eighth chapter of the work, Śiva is not only extolled but is declared superior to other principal Brahmanical deities like Viṣṇu, and Brahmā⁶ :—

ब्रह्मा विष्णुर्वलारातिः सर्वं यस्य वशे स्थिताः ।
 उत्पत्तिः सर्वदेवानां स एव ध्येय उच्यते ॥
 नास्ति शम्भोः परो धर्मो नास्त्यर्थः शङ्करात् परः ।
 शिवादन्यत् सुखं नास्ति मोक्षो नैव हरात् परः ॥
 यदाचर्मवदाकाशं वेष्टयिष्यन्ति मानवाः ।
 तदा शिवमविज्ञाय दुःखस्यान्तो भविष्यति ॥
 स्रष्टृत्वं ब्रह्मणो येन ध्येयत्वं येन शक्तिः ।
 विष्णुत्वं येन शक्त्य तस्मादन्यः परो न हि ॥

Again in the same chapter we read⁷—

विष्णोः स्मरणमालेण सर्वपापक्षयो भवेत् ।
 शम्भुप्रसाद एवैष नास्ति कार्या विचारणा ॥
 यः शम्भुं तत्त्वतो वेत्ति स तु नारायणः स्वयम् ।

...
 जन्मादि कारणं शम्भुं विष्णुं ब्रह्मादिपूर्वजम् ।
 न जानन्ति महामूर्खा विष्णुमायाविमोहिता ॥

The whole of the forty-sixth chapter of the same work is again devoted to the praise of Śiva and also contains instructions as to how to meditate on him. For example we read⁸—

6 *Ibid.*, 38. 2-5 (Vaṅgavāsi ed. p. 124).

7 *Saura Purāṇa*, 38. 11, 12, 16 (Vaṅgavāsi ed. p. 125).

8 *Ibid.*, 46. 33-35 (Vaṅgavāsi ed. p. 171); also 46. 59 (Vaṅgavāsi ed. pp. 172-73).

स एव सर्वभूतात्मा सर्वभूतभवोद्भवः ।
 आस्ते सर्वगतो देवो न च सर्वज्ञ दृश्यते ॥
 योगिनामपि यो योगी कारणानाञ्च कारणम् ।
 रुद्राणामपि यो रुद्रो देवतानाञ्च देवता ॥
 ब्रह्माद्या अपि यं देवं न विदन्ति महेश्वरम् ।
 यं ज्ञात्वा न पुनर्जन्म मरणं चापि विद्यते ॥

...

...

...

कर्म पूजा जपो होमः शम्भोर्नामानुकीर्तनम् ।
 कर्मयोगाः समाख्याता एतैः पूज्यो महेश्वरः ॥

The above extracts from the *Saura Purāṇa* as well as the general tone of the work, clearly point out that it is entirely a sectarian work, inspired and composed by the Śaivas. Strangely enough, in the opening chapter of the work, Śiva has been identified with Sūrya or the Sun-god in no uncertain terms. The work opens with an invocation to Śiva,⁹ the holder of the Pināka (Pināki), and directly afterwards we read.—¹⁰

यान्यन्यानि पुराणानि त्वयोक्तानि महामते ।
 अलं तैः पार्वतीकान्त भक्तौ भक्तियुतन्त्रिदम् ॥
 न यज्ञैर्न तपोभिर्वा न दानैर्न व्रतैस्तथा ।
 शिवभक्तिमृते यस्मान्मुक्तिर्नास्तीति शुश्रुम ।
 देवोऽयं भगवान् भानुरन्तर्यामी सनोतनः ।
 यो व्रते सर्ववस्तूनां तत्त्वं ज्ञात्वैव नान्यथा ॥

...

...

...

नत्वा सूर्यं परं धाम ऋग्यजुःसामरूपिणम् ।
 त्रिसत्यं त्रिजगद्योनि त्रिमार्गश्च त्रितत्त्वगम् ॥
 पुराणं सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि सौरं शिवकथाश्रयम् ।

...

...

...

In the same chapter again, the Sun has been further identified with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.¹¹—

त्वं शिवस्त्वं हरिर्देवं त्वं ब्रह्मा त्वं दिवस्पतिः ।
 त्वमोङ्कारो वषट्कारः स्वधा स्वाहा त्वमेव हि ॥

In the second chapter the idea that the Sun is identical with and a

9 *Ibid.*, 1. 1 (Vaṅgavāsi ed. p. 1).

10 *Ibid.*, 1. 9-11, 13-14 (Vaṅgavāsi ed. p. 2).

11 *Saura Purāṇa*, 1. 35 (Vaṅgavāsi ed. p. 3).

manifestation of Śiva finds even a more powerful and emphatic expression.¹²—

सूर्ये तिष्ठति यो देवो न सूर्यो वेत्ति शङ्करम् ।

यस्य सूर्यो भवेद्रूपं तस्मै सूर्यात्मने नमः ॥

Of course throughout the text, Śiva as a deity, has been given the supreme place and has been, as we have already pointed out, declared superior to all other deities, including in many places, even the Sun.¹³ But it is beyond any doubt that attempts have occasionally been made to identify Śiva with the Sun. Moreover the Sun, it must be remembered, is the revealer of this particular Purāṇa. *Saura Purāṇa* is a supplement to the *Brahma Purāṇa*, which contains elaborate eulogies to the Sun and a great many particulars about Sun-worship.¹⁴ All these facts, taken together, leaves hardly any room for doubt that this particular Purāṇic text really attempts to identify the Sun with Śiva.

The *Saura Purāṇa* in its present form, however, is taken by some scholars to be a late work. Winternitz¹⁵ places it in the thirteenth century A.D., though he thinks that the main part of the work is probably earlier. It is not however the only piece of evidence regarding the existence of this particular religious conception in India. The *Brahma Purāṇa* which takes its place among the earlier and the main Purāṇas also expresses this view in clear terms.¹⁶ At this point, an epigraphic record possibly comes to our help. Reference is being made here to the Nirmand (Kāngta district, Punjab) plate of the Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Samudrasena.¹⁶ The inscription records the allotment of Sūliśagrāma by Samudrasena to a body of Brāhmaṇas, who studied the *Atharvaveda*, at the agrahāra of Nirmāṇḍa for the purposes of the God Tripurāntaka or Śiva, who under the name Mihireśvara, had been installed by the queen-mother.

धर्मार्य भगवतस्त्रिपुरान्तकस्य लोकलोककरस्य प्रणतानुकम्पिनस्सर्वबुद्धि चयकरो कपालेश्वरेजननीप्रतिष्ठितस्य श्रीमिहिश्वरस्य...

"Mihira," as derived from Persian Mithra, is a well-known name of the Sun. Dr. Fleet has pointed out, that the occurrence of that word as

¹² *Ibid.*, 2. 53 (Vaṅgavāsi ed. p. 8).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 2. 18, 11. 9 etc. (Vaṅgavāsi ed. pp. 5, 33 etc.)

¹⁴ *Brahma Purāṇa*, Chs. 28 to 33. (Vaṅgavāsi ed. pp. 132-61).

¹⁵ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, p. 536 n.

¹⁶ *Brahma Purāṇa*, 33. 11, 14 (Vaṅgavāsi ed. p. 159).

the first compound of the God's name in this inscription, would indicate that, in this particular case, some form or other of the Solar worship was combined with the Śaiva rites. According to him it is therefore a clear case of association and identification of the Sun with Śiva. The inscription is dated in the year 6, (Saṃvat 6 khe(vai) śudī 10, 1). If the era be identified with the Harṣa era—the date of the record would be 612-13 A.D. Fleet however thinks that the given date may refer to the sixth regnal year. In any case, on palæographic grounds the record can be placed in the seventh century A.D.,¹⁷ and certainly not later than that. If Fleet's view is accepted, it can then be said to have furnished us, with a good example of the identification of Sūrya and Śiva, in about the seventh century A.D., in India,—a conception that is found to manifest itself in Java, during the next century. The conception, underlying the Javanese Kūṭa-mantra, quoted by Dr. Majumdar, therefore, seems to have been Indian in origin, and like so many other cultural elements, it probably worked its way to the far-distant Java from India.

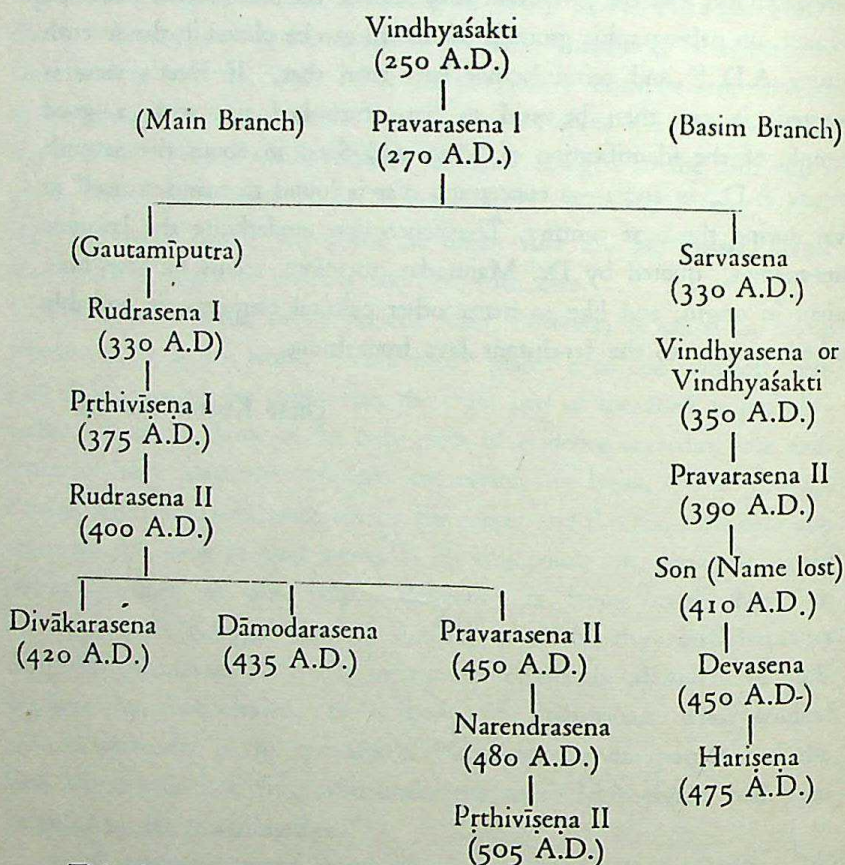
DILIP KUMAR BISWAS

¹⁷ Fleet, *CII.*, vol. III, No. 80, pp. 286-91; Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions No. 1810 (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, Appendix p. 255).

¹⁸ Dr. Fleet also seems to hold the same view. However, it is quite possible that the name Mihreśvara has been derived in this case from that of the donor, Queen Mihira-Lakshmi. (For a similar instance, see Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I. 306).

The Vākāṭaka Chronology

Dr. R. C. Majumdar has recently discussed the question of Vākāṭaka genealogy and chronology in *J.R.A.S.B.*, vol. XII, pp. 1f. He gives the following genealogy with the duration of each reign—



This chronology is based on the following evidence:

(i) The Rithpur plates dated in the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II describe the dowager queen Prabhāvātīguptā as *sāgra-varṣa-śata-diva-putra-pauṭrā*. This passage means that Prabhāvātīguptā lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons. She appears to have survived her brother Kumāragupta whose reign came to an end in A.D. 455. She was probably born about 365 A.D. She became a widow about A.D. 420 when she had three minor sons Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena. She acted as a regent

for Divākarasena for thirteen years¹. As the 100th year of Prabhāvātīguptā fell in the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II, working backwards we get the following approximate years of accession of her three sons—Divākarasena 420 A.D., Dāmodarasena 435 A.D. and Pravarasena 450 A.D.

(ii) Narendrasena of the Main Branch and Hariṣeṇa of the Basim Branch were contemporaries, being sixth in descent from their common ancestor Pravarasena I. Narendrasena's son Pṛthivīṣeṇa II was therefore junior to Hariṣeṇa. From the list of conquests attributed to Hariṣeṇa it seems that he overran the territory of the main Vākāṭaka branch. Pṛthivīṣeṇa II who is said to have rescued the fortunes of the family possibly defeated Hariṣeṇa or his successor. He was the suzerain of Vyāghradeva who ruled in the Nachna-Ganj territory.

It is proposed to examine this chronological scheme in the present article.

The main plank in the chronological structure raised by Dr. Majumdar is the description of Prabhāvātīguptā in the Rithpur plates. The expression actually occurs in the following form—*sāgra-varṣa-śata-diva-putra-pauṭrā*. This has been variously interpreted. The editor of the plates suggested the following two renderings: (i) who has sons and grandsons, a life of full hundred years and will (*in the end*) live in heaven, and (ii) who has renowned sons and grandsons and who has lived a life of full hundred years. Of these, the first rendering is unacceptable, as the simple word *diva* in that expression cannot yield the meaning 'who will in the end live in heaven'. The second rendering (with the change of *diva* into *divya*) is also equally open to objection as *divya* means heavenly, not renowned. Dr. Majumdar has ingeniously suggested the reading *jīva* in place of *diva*. He takes the expression *sāgra-varṣa-śata-jīva-putra-pauṭrā* to mean that Prabhāvātīguptā lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons living at the time. As this expression is pivotal for his theory, it requires to be examined carefully.

Dr. Majumdar has not stated how he dissolves the compound *sāgra-varṣa-śata-jīva-putra-pauṭrā*. He probably takes the first member

1 On p. 2 Dr. Majumdar says, 'Now it is well-known that when Prabhāvātīguptā became a widow she was a regent for her son Divākarasena for at least 13 years.' This is probably a slip of the pen. He evidently means that after she became a widow she acted as a regent for her son for at least 13 years.

as *sāgra-varṣa-śata-jīvā* meaning 'living for a full hundred years'. In that case the second member of the compound would be *putra-pautrā* which cannot be taken as a *Babuvrihi* compound meaning 'who has sons and grandsons (living at the time)'. For this meaning one would expect a *taddhita* affix at the end as in the other expression *varṣa-śatam* = *abhiwarddhamāna-kośa-daṇḍa-sādhana-santāna-putra-pautrīṇaḥ* descriptive of Prthiviṣeṇa I, which also occurs in Vākātaka grants. In the absence of such an affix, the dissolution of the compound is unacceptable².

Another possible dissolution of the compound is *sāgra-varṣa-śatam jīvanti iti tādrśāḥ putrāḥ pautrāśca yasyāḥ sā*—In this dissolution *jīva* would be connected with *putra* and *pautra*, the meaning being 'who has living sons and grandsons'. Similar expressions occur in literature and inscriptions. See, e.g., the following—

- (i) वयं जीवा जीवपुत्रा अनागसः । *Rgveda* x, 36.9.
- (ii) जानासि मे जीवते भावं नित्यमविग्रहे ।
कोशतो न च गृहीते वचनं मे सुयोधनः ॥
Mahābhārata, v, 144, 2.
- (iii) जीवपुत्रे निवर्तस्व पुत्रं रक्षस्व चाङ्गदम् ।
अन्तको रामरूपेण हत्वा नयति वालिनम् ॥
Rāmāyana, iv, 19, 11.
- (iv) जीवसुताय राजमातुय वचनेन । Nasik Cave inscription,
E.I., viii, p. 73.

To have living sons and grandsons is regarded as a sign of good fortune and is therefore often mentioned in the description of women. The preceding expression indicating long life must evidently be connected with *jīva*. The expression therefore refers to the long life³ of her sons and grandsons, not her own. To a widow like Prabhāvatīguptā a long life of a hundred years is most distasteful. It is not a source of joy. No Indian widow is likely to boast of it. We must note in this connection that the expression occurs in

² If the expression *sāgra-varṣa-śatā* had been intended to refer to Prabhāvatīguptā, it would have been separated from *jīva-putra-pautrā*.

³ *Varṣa-śata* here indicates only a long period as in the other expression *-varṣa-śatam* = *abhiwarddhamāna-kośa-daṇḍa-sādhana*—etc. which occurs in all Vākātaka grants in the description of Prthiviṣeṇa I.

Prabhāvatīguptā's own grant. The long life mentioned in it must therefore be taken to refer to that of her sons and grandsons.

It may however be asked, 'How could the sons and also grandsons of Prabhāvatīguptā have been a hundred years old in the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II?' The question is easily answered. The intention here is to express the wish that they would be long-lived. An analogous instance can be cited from the *Uttararāmacarita*, Act IV. There the scene is laid in the hermitage of Vālmiki. Janaka, Arundhatī, Kausalyā and Kañcukī converse with Lava, the twelve year old son of Rāma. In the meantime there comes the news of the arrival of Rāma's Aśvamedha horse and Lava is dragged away by the boys of the hermitage, who are eager to see it. As he goes, Kausalyā says, भगवदि जायामि एदं अणवेकखन्ती वञ्चयामि विञ्च । ता इदो अणदो भविञ्च पेक्खम्ह दाव गच्छमाणं दीहाउं । Here she uses *dihāuṃ dirgh-āyuṣam*, (long-lived) as an attributive adjective of Lava, not as a predicative adjective expressing a wish as in a blessing. It would however be wrong to suppose from this that Lava was advanced in age at that time. The expression in Prabhāvatī's grant is of the same type. Only instead of the indefinite expression *dirghāyuṣam* (long-lived), the expression denoting full human life *sāgra-varṣa-śata-jīva* (living a full hundred years) is used. This expression must therefore be taken to mean that Prabhāvatīguptā had at that time sons and grandsons who, it was hoped, would be long-lived. The expression thus does not refer to the long life of Prabhāvatīguptā at all.

The foundation on which Dr. Majumdar's theory is based is thus extremely shaky. I shall now proceed to examine the subsidiary evidence adduced by him.

(i) To account for Prabhāvatīguptā's age of more than a hundred years in the nineteenth regnal year of Pravarasena II, Dr. Majumdar supposes that the Vākāṭaka queen had three sons, Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena. According to him she was born about A.D. 365 and became a widow in A.D. 420, i.e. when she was in the advanced age of 55 years. Her eldest son was then about six years old. We shall thus have to suppose that Prabhāvatī had no male children till she was nearly 50 years old, or that all her sons born

4 भगवति । जानाम्येतमनवेक्षमाणं वञ्च्य इव । तदितोन्यतो भूत्वा प्रेक्षामहे तावद् गच्छन्तं दीर्घायुषम् । *Uttararāmacarita*, Act. IV (Text edited by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, p. 62)

before had died and that after that age she had these three sons in close succession. This appears very unlikely. As he has himself said, 'in all cases where nothing definite is known, we should proceed on the basis of a reasonable and probable state of things.' No grants made by Dāmodarasena have been discovered. Besides, the description in the Rithpur plates seems to point to his identity with Pravarsena II. The expression is *Vākāṭakānām Mahārāja-sri-Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena-janani*. This expression uses the phrase *Vākāṭakānām Mahārājaḥ* in connection with the name of Dāmodarasena, but not with that of Pravarsena II. When we remember how particular the drafters of Vākāṭaka grants were about the use of this title in connection with the name of every Vākāṭaka king who actually reigned⁵, it looks strange that the title should not be prefixed to the name of Pravarsena II who was ruling at the time. Again, there does not seem any reason why Divākarasena's name should have been omitted⁶. It seems probable, therefore, that Dāmodarasena and Pravarsena II were identical and that the latter name was adopted by the prince at the time of his accession. From the recently discovered Kothūraka grant it seems quite clear that Pravarsena II had come of age when he began to reign⁷. Prabhāvatiguptā's regency does not seem to have continued for more than five or six years after the issue of the so-called Poona plates⁸ which are dated in the thirteenth year evidently of the boy-prince Divākarasena's reign. It does not therefore seem likely that Prabhāvatiguptā was a hundred years old in the nineteenth regnal year of Pravarsena II.

(ii) Dr. Majumdar says that Narendrasena of the main branch and Hariṣeṇa of the Basim branch were contemporaries, because both

5 The phrase *Vākāṭakānām Mahārājaḥ* is repeated in connection with the name of every king of the dynasty, while it is omitted in the case of Gautamiputra who predeceased his father, Pravarsena I.

6 Dāmodarasena, according to Dr. Majumdar, was dead at the time of the issue of the Rithpur plates. There was thus no need to mention his name. If the intention was to mention the names of *all* sons of Prabhāvatiguptā, living or dead, the name of Divākarasena also should have been mentioned in the Rithpur plates.

7 The grant is dated in the second regnal year. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 155 f.

8 These plates, though discovered in distant Poona, originally belonged to the Wardha District as shown by me. *Ibid.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 158-59.

of them were sixth in descent from their common ancestor Pravara-sena I. We cannot however be certain about the contemporaneity of princes by counting generations, as the reign-periods of kings vary greatly. Besides, though Narendrasena was sixth in descent from Pravarasena I, one of his ancestors, viz., Gautamīputra did not reign. Narendrasena was therefore probably a contemporary of Devasena. Consequently Pṛthivīśeṇa II and Hariśeṇa may have ruled in the same period. As the latter claims to have conquered Avanti or Malwa, he must have overrun the territory of the main branch. He had perhaps annexed it after the death of Pṛthivīśeṇa II.

(iii) As for the restoration of the fortune of his family by Pṛthivīśeṇa II, that need not refer to any struggle with Hariśeṇa. We know that there were wars between the main branch of the Vākāṭakas and the Nalas of Puṣkarī. Bhavadatta of the Nala dynasty had overrun the Vākāṭaka territory and occupied Nandivardhana, the erstwhile capital of the Vākāṭakas.⁹ The Nalas admit that their own capital was devastated by the enemy some time before the reign of Skandavarman, the son of Bhavadattavarman, who resettled it¹⁰. It is easy to surmise that this enemy, though not named in the inscription, was the contemporary Vākāṭaka king. The restoration of the fortune of the Vākāṭaka family mentioned in the Bālāghaṭ plates probably refers to the reoccupation of Northern Vidarbha by Pṛthivīśeṇa II.¹¹

The Vākāṭaka chronology is still more or less conjectural, but there are some fixed points. One of them is the contemporaneity of Candragupta II and Rudrasena II who became his son-in-law. This is now admitted by all. Another fixed point is afforded by the identification of Vyāghradeva, the feudatory of the Vākāṭaka *Mahārāja* Pṛthivīśeṇa with the Uccakalpa prince Vyāghra. Dr. Majumdar admits that this Pṛthivīśeṇa was the second prince of that name. The Uccakalpa kings were ruling over the territory round the Nagod State, for most of the copper-plates of these kings were found in the valley near the village of Kho, 3 miles from the capital of the Nagod State. Vyāghradeva, the feudatory of Pṛthivīśeṇa was ruling in this

⁹ The Riddhapur plates of his son Arthapati were issued from Nandivardhana. *Ibid.*, vol. XIX, pp. 100 f.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. XXI, p. 156.

¹¹ I have shown that in the interim period the Vākāṭakas had shifted their capital to Padmapura, modern Padampur in the Bhandara District. *Ibid.*, vol. XXII, p. 210.

very territory. One of his stone inscriptions was found at Nachne-kitalai about 7 miles south-west of Jaso, the chief town of the neighbouring State and the other at Ganj in the Ajaigarh State not far from Nachna. It seems therefore quite plausible that Vyāghradeva of the Nachna-Ganj territory was identical with Vyāghra of the Uccakalpa dynasty. The latter's son Jayanātha was ruling in G. 174 and 177. His reign may have extended from G. 170 to G. 190. Vyāghra, his father, was therefore probably ruling from *circa* G. 150 to G. 170 i.e. from *circa* A.D. 470 to A.D. 490.¹² This is also approximately the period when Pṛthivīśeṇa II was ruling. His grandfather Pravarasena II could not therefore have come to the throne as late as A.D. 450 as suggested by Dr. Majumdar on the supposed evidence of the Rithpur plates.

The prevailing view that Rudrasena II died after a short reign, leaving behind two minor sons Divākarasena and Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena II is thus the correct one. The marriage of Rudrasena II and Prabhāvatīguptā took place, according to V. Smith, in *circa* A.D. 395. Rudrasena II may have come to the throne in *circa* A.D. 400 and died in *circa* A.D. 405. Prabhāvatīguptā acted as Regent for her elder son Divākarasena for at least thirteen years (A.D. 405-418). This period of regency fell during the reign of her father Candragupta II. It is therefore not unlikely that the great Gupta Emperor sent some trusted generals and statesmen to Vidarbha to assist her in governing her kingdom. One of them was the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa who stayed at the capital Nandivardhana for some time and composed his lyric *Meghadūta* on the neighbouring hill Ramtek.

The tradition about Kālidāsa staying at the court of Kuntaleśa has, of course, no bearing on Vākāṭaka history for the Kuntala country was then under the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura,¹³ but this does not in any way invalidate the other tradition about Kālidāsa having composed (or at least helped Pravarasena in composing) *Setubandha* by the order of Vikramāditya.¹⁴ It is easy to sur-

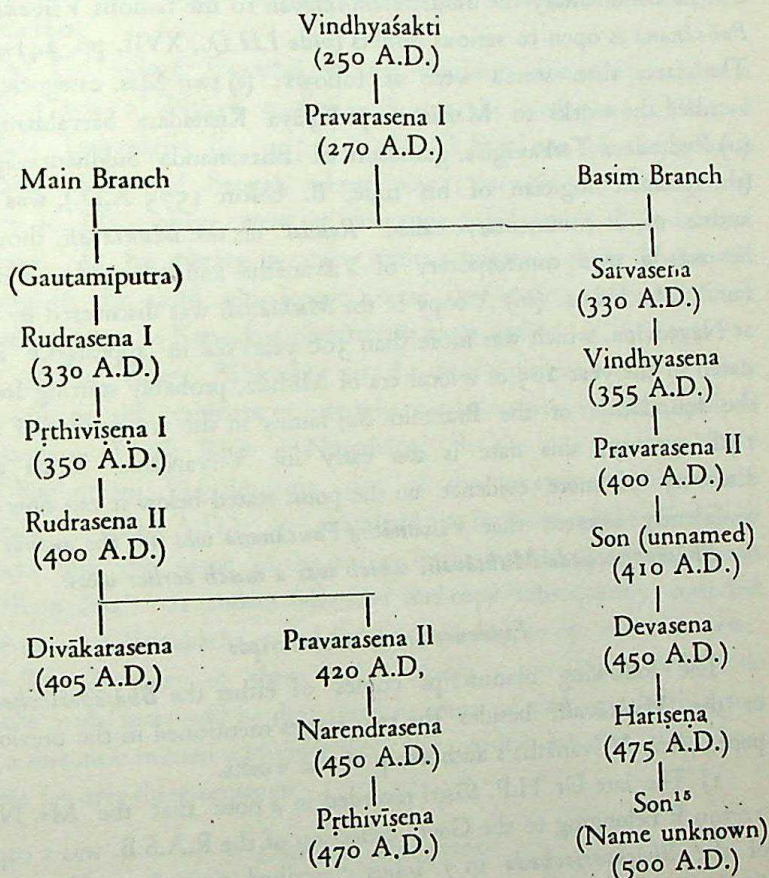
¹² For a detailed discussion of this question see my article on the dates of Uccakalpa kings in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 171 f.

¹³ See my article on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura in *ABORI.*, vol. XXV, pp. 356 f.

¹⁴ This tradition, though late, does not appear improbable.

mise that the latter was the famous Gupta king Candragupta II-Vikramāditya, the grandfather of Pravarasena II, the reputed author of the *Setubandha*.

The Vākātaka chronology may therefore be stated as follows:—



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¹⁵ For Vākātaka history subsequent to the reign of Hariśena, see my article on the historical data in the *Daśakumāracarita*, *Ibid.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 20 f.

More light on the Authorship of the *Bhāṣāpariccheda*

In 1941 we published certain facts which seem to show that the almost universal ascription of the authorship of the *Bhāṣāpariccheda* and its commentary the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* to the famous *Viśvanātha Pañcānana* is open to serious doubts (*vide I.H.Q.*, XVII, pp. 241-44). The facts then stated were as follows: (i) two Mss. categorically ascribed the works to Mahāmahopādhyāya Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma. (ii) Rudradeva Tarkavāgīśa, grandson of Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa (the premier logician of his time, fl. before 1575 A.D.), was the author of a commentary called '*Raudrī*' on the *Muktāvalī*, though he was a true contemporary of *Viśvanātha* and belonged to a rival family of scholars. (iii) A copy of the *Muktāvalī* was discovered by us at Navadvīpa, which was more than 300 years old in appearance and dated in the year 205 of a local era of Mithila, probably starting from the foundation of the Brahmin *Raj* family in the 3rd quarter of the 14th century; this date is too early for *Viśvanātha*. With the discovery of more evidence on the point stated below it can now be confidently asserted that *Viśvanātha Pañcānana was not the author of the Bhāṣāpariccheda-Muktāvalī, which was a much earlier work.*

Evidence from manuscripts

The following manuscript copies of either the *Bhāṣāpariccheda* or the *Muktāvalī*, besides the two copies mentioned in the previous paper, deny *Viśvanātha*'s authorship of the works.

1) The late Dr. H.P. Śāstrī recorded in a note, that the Ms. No. 10799 R belonging to the Govt. collection of the R.A.S.B. was a copy of the *Bhāṣāpariccheda* in 7 folios "ascribed wrongly to Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma." The note is interesting as proving that at that time there was not the remotest suspicion that the universal ascription to *Viśvanātha*, which is being for the first time questioned, could be itself wrong. The copy is unfortunately missing.

2) Bansbaria in the Hugli district was at one time the greatest seat of Nyāya studies in Bengal, next to Navadvīpa, on the west side of the Ganges. The last scholar of Nyāya who had his seminary here was Śrīnātha Tarkālaṅkāra (d. 1909 A.D. at the age of 64). We examined a copy of the *Muktāvalī* in his collection, where the colophon runs (fol.85b):—इति श्रीयुतमहामहोपाध्याय-श्रीकृष्णदास-सार्वभौमभट्टाचार्य-

विरचिता सिद्धान्तमुक्तावली संपूर्णा । शकाब्दाः १७८५ । श्रीआलोकचन्द्रदेवशर्मणः स्वाक्षरं स्त्री(य)पाठाथ ॥ In the third introductory verse the name of the author was 'Viśvanātha', which was corrected in the margin to 'Kṛṣṇadāsa'. In other words, the scribe knew fully well that the book was commonly ascribed to Viśvanātha, but he was apparently in possession of evidence which prompted him to make a correction and ascribe it clearly to Kṛṣṇadāsa.

3) The village Sāt-gāchī in the Burdwan district was also a famous seat of Nyāya studies and was the birth-place of (Rāma-) Dulāla Tarkavāgiśa (b. 1731, d. 1815 A.D.), one of the greatest Nyāya scholars of Bengal, whose notes ('*patrikās*') on the advanced texts of Navyanyāya were at one time popular with all students of Nyāya. In his library we came across a fragment of the *Muktāvalī*, where in the third introductory verse the name of the author was clearly written as Kṛṣṇadāsa (विष्णोर्वृत्तसि कृष्णदासकृतिना...).

4) The village Bāhīrgāchī in the Nadia district was at one time famous as the residence of a family of scholars who were the spiritual preceptors of the Rājās of Navadvīpa. In the fast perishing library of Raghumaṇi Vidyābhūṣaṇa, one of the greatest scholars of the family (d. 1818 A.D.), we examined a fragment of the *Muktāvalī* where also the name of the author in the introductory verse appears as 'Kṛṣṇadāsa'. A student who read this copy subsequently corrected the name to Viśvanātha in the margin according to the common view.

The discovery of these half a dozen copies—and we have no doubt many more will be discovered in course of time—seeks to detect in a romantic fashion a blunder that has misled scholars throughout India for over three centuries.

Doctrinal divergence

There is difference of opinion among authors about the exact form of *Upamiti*. In the *Nyāyasūtraṭṭī* of Viśvanātha, which was written at Vṛndāvana in 1556 Saka (i.e. 1634 A.D.), we read:— (under I.i.6) “इयमोपधी विषहरणी” इत्युपमित्या विषयीक्रियत..... ।

The use of the demonstrative pronoun 'iyam' in the final sentence of an example of *Upamāna* is supported in the *Nyāyabhāṣya*, *Vārtika* and *Tātparyatīkā* (under the same Sūtra), as well as by Udayanācārya (*Kusumāñjali*, III. 10) and many other authorities. It was probably Vācaspati Miśra II of Mithila (fl. middle of the 15th cent. A.D.)

who for the first time struck a new note in the terminology when he wrote under Upamāna:—पश्चाच्च पिरडे दृष्टे वाक्यार्थं स्मरतो लाघवपुरस्काराद् ‘गवयत्वविशिष्टो धर्मी गवयपदवाच्य’ इति प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तविशेषपरिवृत्तिरुपमानफलम् । (fol. 49a of *Nyāyatattvāloka*, Ms. No. 205, India Office Library, London). The *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* adopted this latter view, rather a rare one, in the chapter on Upamāna and added an argument in its favour:—तदनन्तरं तत्र गवयो गवयपदवाच्य इति ज्ञानं यज्जायते तदुपमितिः । न तु ‘अयं गवयपदवाच्य’ इत्युपमितिः, गवयान्तरे शक्तिग्रहाभावप्रसङ्गात् । This marked difference of opinion is a convincing proof that the author of the *Muktāvalī* is not identical with that of the *Nyāyasūtravṛtti*.

Muktāvalyullāsa, the earliest commentary on the Muktāvalī

The late Prof. Kathawate collected a large number of Sanskrit Mss. now preserved in the B.O.R.I., Poona. Ms. No. 301 of 1895-1902 is, according to the List of Manuscripts (1925, p. 11), a copy of the *Muktāvalyullāsa* (foll. 25), dated 1533 S. Thanks to the authorities of the Institute, we thoroughly examined this important book, which turned out to be the earliest known commentary of the *Muktāvalī*. The Ms. is about 300 years old, the total number of folios being 48 (foll. 1-42, 59-64 of which 1 & 59-64 is in one hand & 2-42 in another). The date mentioned in the printed List is not traceable. It is our surmise, however, that there was one more folio (marked 65, which was probably misread as 25) completing the *Ākāśagrantha* and the date was recorded in it. Anyway the Ms. appears quite as old as that untraced date, which it should be noticed is 23 years before Viśvanātha wrote the *Nyāyasūtravṛtti*. The first folio is unfortunately mutilated. It begins, as far as we have been able to discover after a very careful examination, thus:—

श्रीगणेशाय नमः । नयनानन्द(संदोह)निदानं पु(र)वोत्तमं ।

चूदावनसमासीनमुद्दामचरितं नुमः ॥

पुरारेः श्रीमु... (चर)णांभोजमाश्रये ।

अ(श्)मूढमनोऽङ्गमोक्षलक्ष्मीरसायनं ॥ -

नवोनकथनं कापि क्वापि ग्रंथान्तरस्थितं ।

विश्वनाथकृती¹...तिमारभते बुधाः ॥

¹ The letter after ‘kr’ is not ‘tau’ but ‘ti’, the lower portion of ‘t’ and upper part of the mark of ‘i’ were still visible when we examined the Ms.

(विघ्नापनुत्तये) कृतं मङ्गलं शिष्यशिष्यार्थं व्याख्यातृश्रोतृणां अनुपपन्नं ततो मङ्गलाय च निबध्नाति (चूडा)मणीकृत इति... ।

The name of the commentary is found only once—इति श्रोमुक्तावलि उल्लासे वायुग्रन्थरहस्यं समाप्तं । (fol. 61b). The marginal superscript 'Mu. U.' is found in foll. 5b, 6b & 8b. The notes on the text of the *Muktāvali* are brief and concise, but the author of the commentary made it expansive and discursive by adding original and learned tracts under each topic: some of these are *Elvakāravāda* (fol. 7a-9b), *Citrarūpāgrantha* (referred to in 27a), *Tejograntharahasya* (60a), *Sannikarṣavāda* (ref. in 64b) &c.

The author of this new commentary, *Viśvanātha*, should be hailed as quite a new and important discovery in the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* literature of Bengal. The references found in the fragment, which stops in the section on *Ākāśa*, are given below.

(1) ननु “उपमानोपमेयत्वं यदैकस्यैव वस्तुनः । इन्दुरिन्दुरिव श्रीमानित्यादौ तद(न) न्वयः ॥” इत्यादौ, “उपमानोपमेयत्वे एकस्यैवैकवाक्यगे । अ(न)न्वयः” इत्यत्र “न केवलं भाति...तद्विलासाः” (काव्यप्रकाश, दशमोऽङ्कास) इत्यादौ च...तल्लक्षणाव्याप्तिः स्वभेदस्य स्वावृत्तित्वादि(ति) चेन्न । अनन्वयालङ्कारस्थले निरुपमत्वस्य कवितात्पर्यविषयत्वात् । एकस्यैवेत्युपमाव्यवच्छेदाय इत्याहुर्गुरुचरणाः । चक्रवर्तिनस्तु एकस्यैवेत्यनेन भिन्नशब्दबोध्यत्वव्यवच्छेदो बोध्यते, अस्याः मुलमिव अस्याः वक्त्रमित्यादौ नानन्वयः किन्तूपमैवेत्याहुः । तत्र, एकस्यैवार्थस्य शब्दभेदेनापाततो भेदः प्रतीयते न वस्तुभेद इति तदनन्वय एव । उदेति सविता ताम्रस्ताम्र एवास्तमेतीत्यादाविवान्तैकशब्दोपादानमेव युक्तमिति ध्येयम् । (fol. 12b-13a under the topic of ‘*Sādrśya*’) This illuminating note, though a digression, proves that *Viśvanātha* and his unknown teacher were consummate scholars of rhetoric. cf. also fol. 1 for a learned note on the blemish ‘*samāpta-punarāttatva*’. *Cakravartī*, who is refuted here, is the famous *Paramānanda Bhaṭṭācārya-Cakravartī*, author of the *Vistārikā* on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, vide *Jhalkikar’s* ed., 1901, p.705.

(2) विस्तरस्त्वस्मत्कृतः-पदार्थरहस्ये स्पष्टः (fol. 35a). *Miśra* (i.e. *Pakṣadhara* 2b, 3a): *Upāyakṛtaḥ* (i.e. *Vardhamāna* 3b): *Dīdhitikṛtaḥ* (39b, 62a). The rest of the references are unspecified (e.g. *Ucchṛṅkhalāḥ* 30b, *Navyoktam* 6a). The text of the *Muktāvali* followed in this commentary displays a few variations from the standard printed version. For instance, in the *Vāyugrantha* we read:—मूले प्राणादिरिति अत्रादिपदप्रात्या अपान-व्यानोदानसमानाः । ‘अयं चैकोपि तत्तत्स्थानादिवशात् नानासंज्ञा लभत’ इति नानुपपत्तिः, भेदकल्पनायां मानाभावात् । (fol. 61a). The portion within inverted commas forms the text of the *Ullāsa* and not of the *Muktāvali*, but a slightly revised and improved version of the above gloss of the

Ullāsa is found incorporated in the current text of the *Muktāvalī* (प्राणस्त्वैक एव हृदिदिनानास्थानवशान्मुखनिर्गमनादि-नानाक्रियावशो च नानासंज्ञां लभत इति 1). What is, however, more important is the fact that this spurious text of the *Muktāvalī* is explained as genuine not only in the *Dinakarī*, but also in the *Raudrī* (fol. 18a of an old Ms. in our possession): —प्राणस्यैक्ये प्राणादिपञ्चत्वानुपपत्तिरत आह—प्राण इति । नानासंज्ञां प्राणापानादिसंज्ञां । तथा च तत् पञ्चत्वं नास्त्येव किन्तु संज्ञापञ्चत्वोपाधिकपञ्चत्वमिति भावः

Date of the Ullāsa

Rudra Tarkavāgīśa, author of the *Raudrī* on the *Muktāvalī*, was a grandson of Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa and flourished in the middle of 17th century as a contemporary of Viśvanātha Pañcānana himself as we had stated in our previous paper (*I.H.Q.*, XVII, p. 243). The age of the Ms. of the *Ullāsa* (even though the recorded date of the copy, 1533 Ś, is untraceable), the fact that the author of the *Ullāsa* does not refer by name to any authority later than Śiromaṇi and Cakravartī, as well as the above fact of spurious incorporation in the *Muktāvalī* presupposed by Rudra point to the last quarter of the 16th century (1575-1600 A.D.) as the probable date of composition of the *Ullāsa*. It becomes, therefore, utterly impossible for Viśvanātha Pañcānana to be regarded as the author of the *Muktāvalī*. For, in the *Ullāsa* itself there are references to previous comments on the *Muktāvalī* (fol. 2a, 5b & 40a), which was undoubtedly written before 1550 A.D. i.e. practically before the birth of Viśvanātha Pañcānana.

Identity of the two Viśvanāthas

The problem is why the name of Viśvanātha Pañcānana practically ousted that of the real author of the *Muktāvalī*. It is not likely to be solved satisfactorily. It can be surmised, however, that Viśvanātha author of the *Ullāsa* who was a profound scholar of Nyāya was mistaken for the author of the text itself and this probably happened outside Bengal. A mysterious luck circulated the mistake far and wide, though in spite of it the name of the real author lingered in Bengal in well-informed circles. The next problem is whether this Viśvanātha is at all identical with Viśvanātha Pañcānana. We are of opinion that they are not identical and here again the mistaken identity arose outside Bengal. We have got evidence that Viśvanātha Pañcānana and his father Vidyānivāsa lived at Benares and they never

came to Bengal for studies. Both of them became very distinguished among scholars outside Bengal. Hardly any work of them, except the *Nyāyasūtravṛtti*, ever read in Bengal. The author of the *Ullāsa* had previously written a work named *Padārtharabasya*, which cannot yet be ascribed to Viśvanātha Pañcānana. Unlike the latter, the author of the *Ullāsa* nowhere names his father; on the contrary he was thoroughly conscious of his own dialectic skill (cf. मामकीनः पन्थाः fol. 3b, 29a; मामकीनोयं नूतनः पन्थाः 35b) and this goes against his identity with Viśvanātha Pañcānana. The author of the *Ullāsa* may or may not be identical with another old scholar of Navyanyāya named "Viśvanātha Vidyāvāgiśa-Cakravartī," a monograph of whom on 'Śiṣṭalakṣaṇa' (foll. 2 only) is in our possession. It begins:—
 प्रणम्य यदुनाथस्य चरणाम्बुरुहद्वयी । क्रियते विश्वनाथेन शिष्टलक्षणनिर्णयः ॥ and ends:—
 मतं श्रीवर्द्धमानस्य रुचिदत्तमतं तथा । विभाव्य विपुलं शिष्टलक्षणं समुदीरितं ॥ इति श्रीविद्यावागीशचक्रवर्तिविरचितः(ः) शिष्टलक्षणनिर्णयं समाप्तः ॥

Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma, the real author of the Mukṭāvalī

Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma was the most distinguished scholar of his days in Navadvīpa and the author of several commentaries on Navyanyāya viz. on the *Didhiti* of Śiromaṇi (Pratyakṣa and Anumāna, the latter partly published in the B.I.), on the *Nañvāda*, *Ākhyātavāda* and *Guṇadidhiti* of the latter and on *Anumānāloka* (vide *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. 50, pp. 97-101). The *Bhāṣāpariccheda-Mukṭāvalī*, the most popular handbook of Nyāya in India, will now be held as a new and glorious feather to his cap. He flourished about 1550 A.D. and his commentary on the *Anumāna-Didhiti* is probably the earliest extant gloss on Śiromaṇi. We have got evidence that he was the teacher of the famous Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgiśa (*ib.*, vol. 53, p. 2 fn.) and as a member of the same group of scholars Bhavānanda's grandson Rudra wrote a gloss on the *Mukṭāvalī*. Kṛṣṇadāsa belonged to the Banerji family of Rādhīya Brāhmaṇas and his descendants survived for a long time in Navadvīpa. A younger branch of the family still survives in a village of the district of Hugli, but the name of Kṛṣṇadāsa is completely forgotten by them.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

REVIEWS

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS: Vol. II, 1858-1917. Revised and enlarged second edition. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Prof. Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. Calcutta, 1948.

This is the second edition of a very useful and scholarly work which was originally published two years ago. The first edition covered the period 1858-1945. The second edition has been so much enlarged by the addition of new documents that the editor has found it necessary to divide it into two volumes: one, covering the period 1858-1917, which is under review; the other covering the period following 1917, which is now in the press. The present volume contains all important documents relating to the development of the Indian Constitution from the transfer of India from the Company to the Crown down to the Imperial Conference of 1917. Dr. Banerjee has not included in his selection only the important legislative enactments like the Government of India Act, 1858, and the Indian Councils Acts of 1861, 1892 and 1909. For the proper comprehension of historical and constitutional developments he has collected documents of various types, speeches, despatches, minutes, diaries, private letters, treaties, etc. Administrative history has been given due prominence. One of the most useful features of the book is a collection of documents relating to the Indian States. Dr. Banerjee has added notes and references to explain the documents, and his brief but illuminating *Introduction* surveys the broad features of the constitutional history of the period.

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE THERAVADA BUDDHISM IN BURMA by Prof. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., D.Lett. & Phil., etc.; published by the University of Calcutta, 1946; pages xv + 302.

The author of the volume under review is one of the few Indian scholars who are engaged in studying India's cultural influence on the eastern countries. We have from his pen several interesting works on the expansion of Indianism in Burma, the latest of them being the present studies in the Theravāda Buddhism in that country.

The book under review gives a fairly exhaustive account of the his-

tory of Theravāda in Burma from the mission alleged to have been sent to Suvarṇabhūmi (usually identified with lower Burma) by the Maurya emperor Aśoka (272-232 B.C.) down to 1885 A.D. when the British completed the occupation of Burma and signalled the dawn of a new era in that land. Chapter I deals with the introduction of Theravāda in Burma and discusses the Aśoka mission, Buddhaghosa tradition and traces of the faith in the countries of Kirāta and Lin-yang (both located in Burma) in the third century A.D. It further discusses the history of Theravāda in old Prome in c. 400-1050 A.D. and in Thaton in 1050-57 A.D. Chapter II deals with Theravāda in Pagan from its introduction in the middle of the eleventh-century to the fall of the Pagan dynasty about the end of the thirteenth, with reference to the bitter rivalry between the Maraṃma Saṅgha (Burmese Order) and Sihala Saṅgha (Ceylonese Order, formed under the patronage of king Narapatisithu, 1173-1220 A.D.), which continued for three centuries and ended in the triumph of the latter. Chapters III-VI deal with the Burmese Theravāda from the fourteenth century onwards, while Chapter VII discusses certain interesting problems connected with the subject. For the later chapters the author has received great help from such works as the *Sāsanaṇṇavaṃsa*, while the introduction and early history of Buddhism in Burma, discussed in the earlier sections, have been reconstructed, with considerable originality, from archaeological, literary and traditional evidence, whose interpretation, as the learned author himself points out, can hardly be free from dispute in all cases.

There is no evidence of relations between India and Burma in the centuries before Christ, although we have a tradition (recorded in later literary and epigraphic sources) regarding a Buddhist mission sent by Aśoka to the land called Suvarṇabhūmi in the third century B.C. Unfortunately two of Aśoka's own Rock Edicts, which describe the emperor's activities in some details, are conspicuous by their silence about the said mission. RE XIII says that Aśoka obtained *Dharmavijaya* in the countries of his western neighbours, viz. Antiochus of western Asia, Ptolemy of Egypt, Antigonas Gonatas of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene and Alexander of Epirus or Corinth, as well as in the southern countries of the Colas and Pāṇḍyas and as far as Tāmraparṇī or Ceylon. Next it is said that Aśoka's Dharma was followed among the Yavanas (of the Kabul region) and Kambojas (of Kafiristan and the adjoining eastern and north-eastern land), Nābhakas and Nābhapaṃtis (probably of Kashmir or a neighbouring

Himalayan tract), Bhojas and Pitinikas (of the Berar region) and Andhras and Pulindas, all of whom lived in the *rāja-viśaya* or dominions of the Maurya emperor, although they probably enjoyed some sort of autonomy. It is further said that even the people of countries, which had not been visited by Aśoka's *Dūtas*, heard of the emperor's Dharma and its regulations and eagerly followed them. RE II says that Aśoka made hospitals for men and beasts not only throughout his *vijita* or empire, but also in the southern countries of Pāṇḍya, Cola, Kerala and Satiya and as far as Tāmraparṇī or Ceylon, as well as in the western countries where Antiochus and his neighbours ruled. It is no doubt significant that Aśoka, who is always found enthusiastic in describing his success in the propagation of Dharma, is silent about his activities in the lands of the east and north. Scholars have, therefore, rightly doubted the authenticity of the tradition regarding the mission to Suvarṇabhūmi. It is highly improbable that Aśoka actually sent a mission to the eastern countries, but forgot to mention it even in the exhaustive description of his activities in foreign lands given in RE II and XIII. The non-mention of the Kerala and Satiya countries in RE XIII may suggest that Dharma was introduced in those land at a later date and that RE II was promulgated later than RE XIII. This is also suggested by the fact that four Greek kings mentioned by name along with Antiochus in RE XIII, are simply referred to as "the neighbours of Antiochus" in RE II, probably because they were known to the public from an edict previously promulgated. The mention and non-mention of countries influenced by Aśoka's activities in the above accounts would thus appear to have been calculated.

The suggestion offered by some writers that Tāmraparṇī of the Aśokan records indicates the river of that name in the Pāṇḍya country seems to be untenable. As the language of the records undoubtedly locates it outside the four countries (including Pāṇḍyadeśa) covering the southernmost districts of India, this Tāmraparṇī is apparently no other than Ceylon (called Taprobane i.e. Tāmraparṇī by the Greeks) beyond the southern limits of India proper. Of course it is possible to suggest that the name owes its origin to the colonisation of the island by the Pāṇḍya people of the Tamraparṇī va'ley. Another theory, equally unconvincing, is that the passages *theriyānaṃ tam̐bapam̐ṇakānaṃ* and *tam̐bapam̐ṇī-dīpa-pasāda-kānaṃ* occurring in a Nāgarjunikoṇḍa inscription point to the existence of two different countries called Tāmraparṇī and Tāmraparṇa. As a matter

of fact, the relative term *tambapaṇṇaka* (= *tāmrapaṇṇaka*) is derived from the name *Tambapaṇṇī* (= *Tamrapaṇṇī*), in the sense of an inhabitant of that country, by adding the Taddhita suffixes *an* and *ka*.

The *Kirātas* appear to have been Mongoloid hill tribes associated with the Hima'layan range. As the name may have been broadly applied to the Tibeto-Burman people in general, there is nothing improbable in "the identification of the *Kirāta* country with the regions now known as Arakan and Lower Burma (i.e. *Suvarṇabhūmi* of the Pali text and medieval tradition)." In the early centuries of the Christian era, however, Ptolemy and the author of the *Milindapañha* appear to have distinguished the land of the *Kirātas* from the land of gold.

These are some of the disputed points involved in the discussion on the early history of Buddhism in Burma. We are glad to note that, in dealing with such problems, Prof. Roy has always exhibited the correct historical attitude and is never dogmatic. We recommend the volume under review to all students of the ancient history of India and Burma.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

ANTHOLOGIE SANSKRITE (TEXTES DE L'INDE ANCIENNE TRADUITS DU SANSKRIT) by Professor Louis Renou; published by Payot, Paris, 1947; pages 406.

The volume under review is a remarkable publication for which we have to be grateful to the author as well as the publishers. It contains the author's translation (into French) of a large number of sections selected from works pertaining to the various branches of Sanskrit literature. A consideration of space has no doubt compelled the learned author to make his introductory and explanatory notes to the translated sections rather short; but they elucidate the translation fairly satisfactorily. The volume brings to the reader's view the entire field of the vast literature in Sanskrit and offers a clear background of the varied culture of India.

Even a partial analysis of the contents of the volume under review will give an idea of its wide scope. Its twenty chapters refer to the following branches of Sanskrit literature: Veda, Epics, Purāṇa, Tantra, Dharmaśāstra, Philosophy, Yoga, Grammar, Lexicography, Metre, Dramaturgy and Poetics, Politics and Economics, Erotics, Astronomy, Mathematics, Astrology, Alchemy, History, Epigraphy and Medicine.

Chapter I on Veda (pp. 11-73) has been subdivided under the following heads: *R̥gveda*, *Atharvaveda*, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Vedāṅga*, *Upaniṣad* and *Miscellaneous*. No less than ten *sūktas* of the *R̥gveda* (II, 38; VII, 11; III, 3; X, 48; IV, 18; VII, 86; IX, 1; X, 135, III, 33; I, 164) have been selected for translation (pp. 11-23). Sections selected from the *Mahābhārata* (pp. 74-117) are: the gambling scene (*Sabhā*, 60 ff.), *Kīcakavadha* (*Virāṭa*, 21), chapter I (verses 17-46) of the *Sauptika-parvan*, the story of *Sāvitrī* (*Vana*, 296-97), the discourses in chapter 30 ff. of the *Vana-parvan*, *Vidulā's* speech (*Udyoga*, 133), the *Avatāras* of *Viṣṇu* (*Śānti*, 339), the legend of a *Brāhmaṇa* in chapters 5-6 of the *Strīparvan*, the *Vānaprastha* and *Bhaikṣa* orders of life (*Śānti*, 244), the *Yakṣa* episode (*Vana*, 313) and the *Bhagavadgītā* (incorporated in the *Bhīṣma-parvan*), Ch. II, 1-28; 55-72. The chapter on the *Purāṇas* (pp. 133-77) includes sections (in translation) from the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata*, *Līṅga*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Garuḍa*, *Matsya*, *Agni*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Bhaviṣyottara*, *Vāyu*, *Brahma* and *Padma*, while that on the *Tantras* those from the *Kulāṇava*, *Mahānirvāṇ*, *Prapañcasāra*, *Kulacūdāmaṇi*, *Pādukāpañcaka* and *Śaṭcakraṇirūpaṇa*. We are glad to find that the epigraphic branch of Sanskrit literature has not escaped the attention of the learned author who has translated (pp. 383-93) four interesting inscriptions, viz., the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta, the Aihole *praśasti* of Pulakesin II, the Tirode grant of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II and the Baigram copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year 128.

In a work of such wide scope it is of course impossible to expect that students of various branches of Indology will find it easy to agree with the author on all points. By way of illustration, it may be pointed out that the author's identification (pp. 388, 390) of *Purī*, which was "la Fortune de l'océan occidental," with the city of that name in Orissa does not appear to us quite satisfactory, because the *aparajaladhi* or western sea is the Arabian Sea, while *Purī* in Orissa lies on the Bay of Bengal which is the eastern sea, sometimes regarded as a part of the southern sea or the Indian Ocean. But such points cannot certainly detract from the great value of the book under review which exhibits not only the depth and width of the author's learning but also the wide interest he takes in different branches of Indological studies. The book will be very useful to all students of the early history and culture of India.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Bhāratīya Vidyā, vol. VIII, no. 11

- A. B. ATHAVALÉ.—*Was Prāgjyotiṣa of Naraka in Assam or Kathiawad?* The conclusion reached by the writer is that the town of Prāgjyotiṣa mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as capital of Naraka and Bhagadatta was in the Ānarta country (modern Kathiawad).
- LUDWICK STERNBACH.—*Veśyā: Synonyms and Aphorisms.* This is a Supplement to the author's article dealing with various synonyms for the 'prostitute' and other related words as also the maxims on venal love.
- V. M. APTE.—*The Varuṇa Hymns in the R̥gveda.* In this instalment of the paper the 28th hymn of the 2nd Maṇḍala of the *R̥gveda* has been translated into English with annotations.

Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery,
vol. III, pt. 2

- H. GOËTZ—*Iranian or Buddhist Deity? A Gandhāra Statuette and its Problems.* The Note describes a slate statuette representing "a divine warrior, protected by an armour of rather big steel scales sewn to a leather coat, and armed with a heavy spear and a bow" with the head covered with a turban. The statuette is assigned to the 2nd century of the Christian era. The discussion in the Note raises the problem whether the figure represents the Gandhāran Yakṣa Pañcika or the Iranian sungod Mithra.
- V. R. TALVALKAR.—*The Inscription in the Navalakhī Well, Baroda.* The date of the Navalakhī Well of Baroda is pushed back earlier on the evidence of a short inscription, सुराज in Brahmi script found on the cornice facing the steps of the well. The name सुराज is surmised to have reference to Śrī Sūrya of the Mankaṇī grant of the early 7th century.
- B. BHATTACHARYYA.—*The Dhyānī Buddha Images in the Baroda Museum.* The beautiful Dhyānī Buddha images in the Baroda Museum are of Nepalese origin and belong to a period when Tantric culture flourished in Nepal.
- B. L. MANKAD.—*Gold Coins in the Baroda State Museum.*

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. XII, pts. 3 & 4

- V. MINORSKY.—*Gardīzī on India*. Gardīzī, a man from Gardiz, a frontier town between Gaznīn and Hindusthan composed an historical work in Persian and dedicated it to Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznī. The chapter of the work dealing with India has been rendered here into English. It presents an interesting picture of the manners and customs of the Indians as observed by Gardīzī, a keen Muslim observer of the 11th century.
- R. L. TURNER.—*Indo-Arica II: Panjabi Pable = Avestic friabda*.
- T. BURROW.—*Sanskrit Rajas*.
- W. STEDE.—*The Self and its Complications*. The position of the self in the Buddhist philosophy has been discussed.
- ALFRED MASTER.—*An Unpublished Fragment of Paisācī*. An extract in Paisācī dialect is published here from an early manuscript of the *Kuvalayamālā*. The extract has been rendered into English and its peculiarities discussed.
- JOHN BROUGH.—*Nepalese Buddhist Rituals*.
- S. G. VESEY-FITZGERALD.—*The Succession of Cognate Collaterals in Hindu Law*.
- A. L. BASHAM.—*Harṣa of Kashmir and the Iconoclast Ascetics*. It is recorded in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* that king Harṣadeva of Kashmir reigning in the closing years of the 11th century amassed fortunes by looting the temples and melting down the images of the deities. It is conjectured that there was a heretic motive behind this deliberate pollution of the images. The *nagnāṭas* mentioned as agents of the king in these nefarious deeds might have been the followers of the Ājīvika cult or the members of some other heretical sect.
- J. V. S. WILKINSON.—*A Note on an Illustrated Manuscript of the 'Jog-Bashisht' (with plates)*.

Journal Asiatique, Tome, CCXXXIV.—Années 1943-5.

- ROGER PORTAL.—*Sovietic Orientalism*. Notice of the first two volumes of work published under this name since 1940 by the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R. contain articles on various oriental lands, a chronicle of activities of the Institute, book-reviews and photographic reproduction of

documents. In an introductory article A. P. Barannikov announces the essential object of Soviet Orientalism to help the oriental peoples to acquire the knowledge of their national existence and the originality of their culture. The articles on India comprised in the two volumes are entitled *Some problems of Indology* and *the movement towards an official language in India*, while there is a review of the official report presented to the British Parliament called *India in 1934-1935*. U. N. G.

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The Malavas¹

The name of the Mālavas is one of the most well-known in ancient Indian ethnography. They are not mentioned by Pāṇini but the famous Sūtra V. 3. 114 which speaks of certain tribes as 'āyudhajīvī Saṃgha's or tribes living by profession of arms is explained by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar as referring to the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas the two tribes who are noticed in one compound Kṣaudraka-Mālavāḥ in the scholiastic works on Pāṇini. Mālavas as a Saṃgha (tribe), is however, mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. IV. 1. 168 (2nd century B.C.), and it is commented that Mālavya and Kṣaudrakya were two confederacies of a military character.

1 The abbreviations used here are the following:

- VJN = The *Vaiṣyaṇṭi* of Yādavaprakāśa.
 TAI = *Tribes in Ancient India* by B. C. Law.
 ABRI = *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*.
 CCAI = *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* by John Allan, London, 1936.
 IG = *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* New edition, Oxford, 1908.
 KSSR = *The Kathāsarit-sāgara*, Trans. by C. H. Tawney Calcutta, 1880.
 MA = *Ancient India as described in classical literature*, by J. W. McCrindle.
 MI = *Invasion of India* by Alexander.
 MM = *Ancient India* as described by Megasthenes and Arrian.
 AMKLP = *Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūla Kalpa*, ed. by Mm. T. Ganapati Sastri.
 VKS = *Kāmasūtram* ed. by Pancanan Tarkaratna, Baṅgavāsi Press.
 YC = *On Yuan Chwang* by T. Waters, Royal Asiatic Society 1904.
 BR = *Buddhist Records of the Western World* by S. Beal.
 BH = *Life of Hsuen Tsang* by S. Beal.
 PH = *Political History of Ancient India* by H. C. Roychaudhuri.
 TKS = *Trikaṇḍaśeṣa of Puruṣottamadeva*, published by K. Sri Krishna-das, Bombay, 1916.

A people with this profession and association naturally lends identity to the famous warlike Malloi tribe of the Punjab who appear frequently in the accounts of the Macedonian invasion of India, mostly in conjunction with the Oxydrakai who represent the Sanskrit Kṣudrakas.² In the *Mahābhārata*, too, we find that the two peoples are linked together, as, such single appellations, 'Kṣudrakamālavaiḥ' indicate. All other notices that we possess of them in the *Mahābhārata* indicate that they were an ancient non-Aryan people, civilised and virile living under their own rulers and ready to meet any enemy or invader.³ These are some indications positive in nature which go to connect the Mālavas of early Sanskrit texts with the Malloi of Greek historians, and this identity has been generally accepted by scholars.⁴

It appears that Alexander in order to meet the Malloi began his operations from a point near the junction of the Akesines (Chenab) and the Hydraotes (Ravi), for Arrian informs us⁵ that Alexander had ordered his generals to wait for him and join him with their divisions at the confluence of the Akesines and Hydraotes and then he led them through a waterless tract of country against the Malloi. Arrian further says that the river Akesines joins the Indus in the dominions of the Malloi.⁶ By combin-

² For Kṣudrakas see *TAL.*, p. 394.

³ See A. Banerji-Sastri in *JBORS.*, XXIII. 309-10.

⁴ Cf. Wife of Aśvapati (Madra country) mother of the celebrated Sāvitrī was a Mālavī, i.e., a lady of the Mālava tribe. This supports the position of the Mālavas as a tribe of the Punjab. Mālava is derived from the Dravidian word Malai (hill) and opinion is expressed that the word meant originally a Dravidian Hill tribe. But numismatists like V. Smith and Allan hold different views from a study of the Mālava coins. The former suggests that they were of foreign origin and writes "In ancient Indian literature and inscriptions the term Mālava is applied to various communities and territories....." (*Cat. Coins of Indian Museum*, p. 161). Allan in his latest book (*Cat. Ind. Coins*, 1936) points to the uncertainty of the ethnic origin of the Mālava coins. A. Banerji-Sastri similarly says that the confusion regarding the origin and ethnography of the Mālavas is reflected in their coins (*JBORS.*, XXIII. 309-10). He is of opinion "that the puzzle about their non-Indian origin is partially due to a lack of discrimination at an earlier stage between the Aryan and non-Aryan elements that fused and evolved the Mālava stock in the Maru and fertile fields of Rajputana." (*Ibid.*, 313).

⁵ *MI.*, pp. 139-40. The junction of Akesines with the Hydraotes (Ravi) occurs at present at a point more than 30 miles above Multan.

⁶ *MM.*, p. 196.

ing these two statements we learn that the Malloi territory comprised the Doab formed by the Sutlej and the Ravi (Hydraotes) including also the narrow wedge of land between the confluence of the Indus and the Akesines (Chenab) on the west. The country to their north i.e., the Doab formed by the Akesines and the Hydraotes possibly belonged to the Sivikas and not to the Malloi as is generally believed.⁷

The Greek accounts are replete with references about the Malloi and the Oxydrakai. Arrian informs us that they were the most numerous and warlike of all the Indian tribes in the Punjab.⁸ Diodoros writes that the Syrakousai (Oxydrakai) and the Malloi who were formerly at feud suspended their internal hostility and even strengthened their position by intermarriage and mustered a force of 80,000 foot, 10,000 horses, and 700 chariots.⁹ Curtius records a similar statement but he gives the two names as Sudracae and Malli.¹⁰ Arrian however says that by his sudden and rapid march Alexander prevented the Malloi and the Oxydrakai from giving each other mutual help.¹¹

The Malloi were a 'race of independent Indians'¹² and the manner in which the Oxydrakai conducted negotiations with Alexander¹³ gives us an insight into the representative character of the tribal states of the Punjab of the 4th century B.C. Although the political relations of these tribes were far from being friendly¹⁴ at a time when it was needed most yet even an historian of the invading race says that "in the art of war they were far superior to the other nations by which Asia was at that time inhabited." Regarding other ethnographical details we learn that they were of great stature and were amongst the tallest men in Asia. Their complexion was black, but they were very simple in their habits.¹⁵

But a people of the name of the Mālavas appear to have occupied the country round Nagar (Jaipur) in Rajputana, 45 miles north of Kotah.

7 V. Smith locates them in the country below the confluence of the Jhelum and Chenab covering approximately the Jhang and Montgomery districts (*JRAS.*, 1903, p. 631). Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhuri also places them in the valley of the lower Hydraotes "north of the confluence of the river and the Chināb" (*PH.*, p. 205). Also see *ML.*, p. 35¹.

8 *ML.*, pp. 137, 115, 287.

9 *Ibid.*, 287.

11 *Ibid.*, 150.

13 *Ibid.*, 154. For other details of the people see *M.A.*, p. 13.

14 *PH.*, p. 210.

10 *Ibid.*, 234.

12 *Ibid.*, 140.

15 *ML.*, p. 85.

25 miles to the E.-SE. of Tonk, where large number of coins bearing the legend 'Mālavānām jayaḥ' have been found.¹⁶ The provenance of these coins show that the people occupied a limited area in Eastern Rajputana 'from the second to the fourth century A.D.'¹⁷ The Malayas (= Mālavas)¹⁸ of the Nasik cave inscription of Uṣavadāta, the Śaka, the son-in-law of Kṣātrapa Nahapāna, who probably settled near about Ajmer¹⁹ evidently shared a portion of E. Rajputana with the Mālavas of Nagar.²⁰ The same people may have been meant by Samudragupta in his Allahabad Pillar inscription,²¹ for no other people of this name issuing coins which bear the impress of a strong tribal organisation seem to have existed in the time of the Gupta emperor. This agrees well with the geographical position of the Yaudheyas and the Ārjunāyanas, with whom they are grouped together in the Allahabad Prasasti. Allan points out that the similarity of the coin-legends to those of the Ārjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas also suggest that the Mālavas were not very remote from their other companions. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says that in the Gupta period they migrated still farther southward as is indicated by the findspot of the inscriptions of the period and appear to have occupied Mewar and Kotah of SE. Rajputana and other parts of Central India.²²

So the normal conclusion will be that the Mālavas merged as an independent tribal State in about 150 B.C. or earlier in the eastern portion of Rajputana²³ where they lived in the early centuries of the Christian era.

16 This city Nagara is perhaps mentioned by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* (3rd A.D.): Nāgarikyah & Nāgarakāḥ (VKS., p. 372). Although Yaśodhara identifies it with Pāṭalīputra, Mr. H. C. Chakladar shows that it was the same as Nagara, the celebrated city of the Mālava lying 45 miles to the N.N.E. of Bundi in Rajputana (*ABRI.*, VIII. 58-60).

17 *CCAI.*, p.cvii. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar the coins range from B.C. 150-250 A.D. Dr. V. A. Smith says that the Mālavas dwelt in eastern Rajputana for four or five centuries 150 B.C.-330 A.D. (*Cat. Coins of Ind. Museum*, p. 161) while according to Cunningham the Nagar coins are to be dated between 250 B. C. and 250 A.D.

18 R. C. Mazumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 273, R. O. Douglas, 'On some Mālava coins' *JASB.*, XIX, (N.S.), pp. 42 ff.

19 Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. LVI.

20 Many Mālava coins have been found in the Jaipur State (*JRAS.*, 1897, p. 883).

21 *CCAI.*, p. CVII.

22 *IHQ.*, I, 257.

23 Cf. *Mbb.*, iii, 253. 19-20.

Most of the early records in the era of the lords of Mālava, or of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas also come from Rajputana, north of Malwa.²⁴ At a later time the Mālavas of Rajputana are connected with Malwa, and the Mandasor Stone-inscription of Kumāragupta I (c. 414-455 A.D.) is perhaps the first inscription in Malwa proper²⁵ dated in the Mālava years 493 (= A.D. 436) and 529 commencing in B.C. 58-7 and handed down traditionally by the Mālavānām-Gaṇa. The Mālavas of the later epigraphic records evidently refer to the Mālava Gaṇa of the Mandasor region.²⁶ Subsequently the name Mālava was found to be of far too wide significance to be that of a single zone. Dr. B. C. Law says that in the seventh century A.D., the name Mālava was applied to Eastern Malwa or the region round Bhilsa and he identifies the Mālava Kingdom of Mahāsena-Gupta and Devagupta referred to in the *Harṣacarita* with Pūrva-Mālava "which lay between Prayāg and Bhilsa."²⁷ But the evidence in favour of this hypothesis is not very clear. Dr. D. C. Ganguly in an article (Mālavas in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.) shows on the evidence of a Valabhī record of 639 A.D. which refers to the inclusion of Ratlam in Mālavaka, and a statement of Bāṇa which indicates the inclusion of Ujjain in that country, that Mālava in the 7th century was the designation of the western part of Malwa. Attempt has also been made by a critical examination of the contemporary evidences, to connect Hiuen-Tsang's Mo-la-p'o with Central Malwa, i.e., the region centering round Ujjain.²⁸ It may be noted that the evidence of later literature particularly that of the *Kathā-S. Sāgara*²⁹ shows that the Mālava country came to be regarded as identical with the region round Ujjain i.e., Avanti. In a late Buddhist Chronicle

24 Mālavas of the coins are the celebrated Mālava-gaṇa who are credited with having instituted the era now called Samvat (*JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 995-98 and 1914, p. 747; *IA.*, 1913, p. 161; *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 1012-3). Also see, *PH.*, p. 388, fn. 3. For Sakas, Parthians and the Vikrama era see S. Konow in *EL.*, XXI, 256.

25 *CII.*, III 83. Mandasor is in the Western Malwa Division of Central India. It was known as Daśapura (originally consisting of ten hāmlets) the name was later contracted into Daśōr (p. 79 n.).

26 Cf. Mandasor Stone Inscription of Yaśodharman (c. 525-535) Mālava (=Vikrama) year 589 (=A.D. 532); *SI.*, 391, vs. 21.

27 *TAL.*, p. 61.

28 *JBORS.*, XIX, pp. 399-401 and pp. 408 ff.

29 *KSSR.*, I, p. 150, 197.

the *Ārya mañjuśrī.mula-kalpa* a similar position is recorded 'purimūjjavanīm khyāp Mālavānām jane tada.'³⁰ The lexicographers such as Yādavaprakāśa, Hemcandra and Puruṣottamadeva³¹ also identify Mālava with Avanti.³² So the geographical indications of all these statements establish beyond doubt Mālava's association with western Malwa or Avanti in the mediaeval period. According to Prof. Rhys Davids the Avanti county came to be called Mālava from the 7th or 8th century onwards.³³ But there are other evidences which indicate that the geographical connotation of Mālava afterwards expanded so as to include the whole of Eastern Malwa. Thus the Khajuraho inscription II refers to a river called Mālvanaḍī on whose bank stood Bhāsvat.³⁴ Bhāsvat was also known as Bhailasvāmin³⁵ and is the same as Bhilsa in Gwalior State in Central India, on the east Bank of the Betwa river. Betwa was thus a river of the Mālava country. In Alberuni's description Bhilsa is included in Malwa. Thus he says:³⁶ "From Ūjain to Bhāilasān,"³⁷ which likewise belongs to Mālava, the distance is 10

30 *AMKLP.* p. 629, v. 10a.

31 *VJN.*, p. 38, v. 37. *Abhidhāna*, p. 381; *TKS.*, p. 31.

32 But as noted, before Avanti and Mālava are very often distinguished. (Cf. *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, XII. 1. 28 ff., where mention is made of the Brahmins and Kings of Avanti, Ābhira, Arbuda and Mālava countries). In the *Kathā-Sāgara*, also we find separate mention of Avanti and Mālava (I, pp. 56-57). Even earlier works like the *Kāmasūtra* (*VKS.*, p. 370) of Vātsyāyana (3rd century A.D.) refer to Avanti and Mālava separately. Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* which belongs to about the same period as *Kāmasūtra* characterise the people of Avanti Surāṣṭra and Mālava etc. as having the same style (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, XIII, 29). But certain observations made by A. Banerji-Sastri on a study of Mālava-Ujjain coins deserve to be noted (*JBORS.*, XXIII. 313 ff.). He says that the Mālavas and Avantis should not be distinguished from each other arbitrarily and to support his proposition he quotes V. Smith who accepts the theory of Prof. Rapson that the so-called "Ujjain Symbol" of the cross and balls would more accurately be named the 'Mālava symbol.' It is also argued that Avanti in Buddhist records is the designation of practically the same region occupied at the epoch of these sources by the Mālavas. Under the circumstances the writer makes out a case for a fresh study of the Mālava-Avanti coinage and criticises all numismatic studies hitherto made on the subject as 'artificial.' He considers that even the latest work on the subject (Allan's *Cat. Ind. Coins*, 193) is not free from this obsession as the coins of Ujjaini are treated independently of and separated from the Mālava coins.

34 *El.*, I. 129, vs. 26.

35 *El.*, XXV, 279-80.

33 *Buddhist India*, p. 28

36 *Al.*, I. 202.

37 In Muhammadan writing it is also referred to as Mahābalistān.

farsakh." But Alberuni also tells us that the capital of the Mālava country was Dhār.³⁸ This may be interpreted to mean that the Mālava country of the mediaeval period was not only co extensive with Malwa proper and the Malwa agency³⁹ of the modern times but comprehended the entire region of the western section of the Central India Agency (including Bhilsa on the east) bounded on the north and west by Rajputana and on the south by the great Vindhya range which is the natural limit of the plateau in that direction. This country seems to have been divided into two parts and according to the commentator of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* the Western Mālava country or Aparā-Mālava was identical with Ujjaini-deśa and the eastern Mālava or Mālava proper was known as Pūrva Mālava.⁴⁰ The Aparā-Mālava country was conterminous with the Avanti Mahājanapada⁴¹ whose limit on the east, was possibly the river Pārvatī, which by its natural position separated Avanti from Ābravanti or Ākara, known in ancient times under a variety of designations such as Pūrva-Mālava, Daśārṇa or Vidiśā, all of which being the name of practically one and the same tract of country namely Eastern Malwa consisting of the modern Bhopal, Bhilsa and the neighbouring portions of the Central Provinces.

But Hiuen-Tsang, it should be noted, restricts the application of the term Mālava to a limited area. The pilgrim reached Mo-la-p'o (Mālava)⁴² going north-west from Broach. It is stated that the capital was defended by the river Mahī on the south and east.⁴³ It thus follows that the Mahī valley particularly the adjoining regions to its west were equivalent to Hiuen Tsang's Mālava.⁴⁴ A passage of the *Skanda*

38 *Al.* 202. This is the capital of the state of the same name in C. India, the Dhārā-Nagari which was the capital of the Paramāra chiefs.

39 The name has been applied to varying tracts at different periods. See *IG.*, XVII, 97-100.

40 *VKS.*, p. 371: Mālavya itī Pūrvamālavabhavāḥ. As Avanti so famous in early history and tradition was the recognised name of what later on came to be called as Aparā-Mālava or Western Malwa, the Commentator might have thought fit to regard Eastern Malwa or Pūrva-Mālava as Mālava proper.

41 The Mālavaka Janapada of the Jaina Bhagavati Sūtra possibly refers to Aparā-Mālava or Avanti of Central India.

42 *YC.*, II, pp. 242-43 and p. 341.

43 *BR.*, II, p. 260.

44 The people of the Mahī valley i.e., Māheyas appear in the Puranic list of the Western Division. The *Skanda-Purāṇa* describes the merit of holy confluence of the Mahī with the sea, (i: 2. 13. 45 ff.).

Purāṇa which agrees with this location of the Mālava country runs thus:—

महीनाम समुत्पन्ना देशे मालवकाभिधे दक्षिणं सागरं प्राप्ता पुण्यभयतटा शिवा ।⁴⁵

Dr. B. C. Law says that the 'Mo-la-po' kingdom of Hiuen Tsang is identical with Mālavaka of Valabhī grants and corresponded roughly to the modern districts of Kaira and Ahmedabad and some parts of the Baroda State.⁴⁶ It may be noted that the name is given as Mālavaka in the śloka quoted above. Cunningham points out⁴⁷ that the bearing and the distance in this case are erroneous and that the capital of the Mālava country corresponds with the position of Dhar, and the country conterminous with the region bounded by Vadarai on the north, Valabhī on the west, Ujjain on the east and Mahārāṣṭra on the south. Whatever may be the exact territorial position of the pilgrim's Mālava it is obvious that the description he gives of the Mālavas refers to the Mālavas of Central Malwa of which Ujjain was the city so famous in history and tradition. Thus he says that the people of the country were highly polished and agreeable. They exceedingly loved fine arts and like the Māgadhas had the renown of loving the study of literature.⁴⁸ He also records that the disposition of men was virtuous and docile and that they were gifted with remarkable intelligence.⁴⁹ This certainly is an evidence of the highest value in connecting the Mālavas of Hiuen Tsang with the famous people of Ujjayini for no other people of Western India could have been meant by this high encomium.⁵⁰ So Hiuen Tsang's Wu she-na cannot be equated with Ujjain as the pilgrim states that the people were of a rude violent nature and did not care for education. Dr. D. C. Ganguly's identification of the name with Bhailasvāmin or Bhilsa⁵¹ does not satisfy the conditions either, for the cultural attainments of ancient Vaidīśikas are much too well known to be forgotten.

But the classical references to the Malloi of the Punjab are earlier than the numismatic and epigraphic references to the Mālavas of Rajputana

45 I. 2.13.41.

46 *TAL.*, p. 64-5. 47 *CAGI.*, pp. 51-563. 48 *BH.*, pp. 147-48.

49 *BR.*, II, p. 260. In Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* 'Mālavya' is described as one of the five types of the Mahāpuruṣas and physical features of this type are also set forth. (*IC.*, II, 352-53).

50 Cf. The statement of Bāṇa, quoted by Dr. D. C. Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 408-409 (*JBORS*, XIX).

51 *Ibid.*, 410-11.

and Malwa. They cannot be regarded as one and the same people unless we assume that Mālavas of the Punjab gradually moved southwards (perhaps from the beginning of the second century B.C.) due to the unsettled condition of the 'North' resulting from the Greek and other invasions,⁵² and after several changes of abode⁵³ eventually settled in Central India and gave their name to what is now called Malwa.⁵⁴ The people may have acquired independence immediately after the fall of the Gupta empire, when the tribal name was given to the country around; and being one of the foremost fighting clans of ancient India were gradually being absorbed into the famous Rajput clans then emerging in the light of history.

S. B. CHAUDHURI

⁵² *CCAI.*, p. CVII.

⁵³ Seven Mālava countries are known to have existed (*PH.*, p. 492, fn. 4).

⁵⁴ But *Harṣa-carita* refers to one Mālava rāja (Ch. 4) who may have been a king of Multan. Dr. V. A. Smith points out that Tāranātha mentions a 'Mālava in Prayāg' (*EHI.*, p. 350, fn. 1).

Authorship of the *Dhvanyāloka* and Ānandavardhana's Date and Works

Like the majority of Sanskrit scientific classics, the *Dhvanyāloka* also is written in a mixture of prose and verse. The verse-form became popular in scientific treatises for more reasons than one. In the first place, verses could be easily committed to memory and easily remembered. Secondly the verse-form came handy as a device for saving space. To avoid all lengthy prolixities and to confine attention to the bare essentials of the subject, the verse-form was the most suited. But in this zeal for conciseness and compactness, clarity had to be more often than not sacrificed. And in order to remove the obscurity of the verses inevitable by their very nature as also incidentally arising out of metrical exigencies and so on, it was the practice of authors to subjoin a prose explanation or *ṛtti* to their metrical compositions or *kārikās*.¹ In some very ancient texts, however, only the *kārikās* have been preserved (e.g. the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*) while the *ṛtti* or *bhāṣya* is of a late origin. Even Bhartṛhari, the celebrated author of the *Vākyapadiya*, has now been proved to have written a *ṛtti* on the metrical text himself.² Now the question that emerges is whether we are justified in regarding the *kārikā* as well as the *ṛtti* portion in the *Dhvanyāloka* to be the work of one and the same author.

G. Bühler was the first orientalist to give an account of the *Dhvanyāloka* and its date. He was led to believe that "the *Dhvanyāloka*, *Kāvyaāloka* or *Sahdayāloka* is a commentary in four chapters on certain verses treating of *Dhvani*, 'implied meaning', which is considered the soul of poetry."³ And the reason adduced by him in support of this remark of his is— "From Abhinavagupta's *Tīkā*⁴, it appears that these verses are the composition of some older writer

1 Cf. Udayana's *Nyāya-kusumāñjali*, Viśvanātha's *Sābitya-darpaṇa*, Mammata's *Kāvya-prakāśa*, etc.

2 Fragments of it have been published in Lahore by Prof. Charu Deva Shastri.

3 Detailed Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit Mss. by G. Bühler. 1877. p. 65.

4 Cf. परमेश्वरसामुह्य करोति वृत्तिकारः—*Locana*, p. 1.

whose name is not given. But it is remarkable that they contain no *maṅgalācaraṇa*." In other words, according to Bühler, the *Kārikākāra* must be supposed to be other than the *Ṛttikāra* since Abhinavagupta makes such a distinction. A number of eminent scholars—Hermann Jacobi, S. K. De, P. V. Kane, and S. P. Bhattacharya being the foremost among them—accepted this conclusion and one might almost say that it became an established tradition. There was, however, a section of scholars headed by the late Mm. S. Kuppaswami Sastri (A. Sankaran, V. Raghavan, and T. R. Chintamani being his followers), who challenged the above tradition and endeavoured to prove the identity of authorship of both *kārikā* and *ṛtti* in the *Dhvanyāloka*. The mainstay of their arguments also was, curiously enough, furnished by the remarks of Abhinavagupta himself in his *Locana*. Of late, a scholar⁵ has tried to prove that though Abhinavagupta favours the idea of identity of authorship, there are internal evidences in the *Dhvanyāloka* which militate against such a view. The whole problem has been again examined in a thorough-going manner by Dr. Satkari Mookherjee⁶ and the conclusion he has arrived at is that an identical author is responsible for the composition of both *kārikā* and *ṛtti* and that it is Ānandavardhana.

Such in brief are the various views held by scholars regarding this seemingly simple question and they are enough to show how the question is a much mooted one and how scholars are far from being in agreement regarding it. An attempt will be made here to record faithfully the various evidences cited favouring one or the other view and to examine them again dispassionately.

To begin with, some of the striking statements of Abhinavagupta wherein the *Kārikākāra* and the *Ṛttikāra* seem to have been carefully distinguished may be examined⁷ :—

1. एवं त्रिप्रकारमभाववादं भक्त्यन्तर्भूततां च निराकुर्वता अलक्षणीयत्वमेतन्मध्ये

5 K. Goda Varma, 'Different authorship of the *Kārikāgrantha* and the *Ṛttigrantha* of *Dhvanyāloka*,' *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. V, No. 12 (March 1943).

6 'A Dissertation on the identity of the author of the *Dhvanyāloka*,' *B. C. Law Volume*, Part I, (1945) pp. 179-194.

7 For a complete collection of such passages see S. K. De's paper on the subject in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, vol. I, pt. 4, p. 3.

निराकृतमेव । अत एव मूलकारिका साक्षात्तनिराकरणार्था न श्रूयते । वृत्तिकृत्तु निराकृत-
मपि प्रमेयशय्यापूरणाय कण्ठेन तत्पक्षमनूय निराकरोति—येऽपीत्यादिना ।

—(pp. 162-163, *Locana* Ben. Edn. 1940)

2. तत्र प्रथमोद्योते ध्वनेः सामान्यलक्षणमेव कारिकाकारेण कृतम् । द्वितीयोद्योते
कारिकाकारोऽवान्तरविभागं विशेषलक्षणं च विदधदनुवादमुखेन मूलविभागं द्विविधं सूचित-
वान् । तदाश्रयानुसारेण तु वृत्तिकृदलैवोद्योते मूलविभागमवोचत् । —(p. 163, *Ibid.*)

3. प्रकाशितः मया वृत्तिकारेण सता इति भावः । न चैतन्मयोत्सृज्यमुक्तम्, अपि तु
कारिकाकाराभिप्रायेणोक्तम् । —(p. 165, *Ibid.*)

4. भवति मूलतो द्विभेदत्वं कारिकाकारस्यापि सम्मतमेवेति भावः । —(p. 166).

5. एतत्तावत्तिभेदत्वं न कारिकाकारेण कृतम् । वृत्तिकारेण तु दर्शितम् । न चेदानीं
वृत्तिकारो भेदप्रकटनं करोति ॥ —(pp. 290-1)

6. कारिकाकारेण पूर्वं व्यतिरेक उक्तः ।...वृत्तिकारेण त्वन्वयपूर्वको व्यतिरेक इति
शैलीमनुसर्तुमन्वयः पूर्वमुपात्तः । —(p. 304.)

These statements are important implying as they do not only that Abhinavagupta regarded the *Kārikākāra* as distinct from the *Vṛttikāra* but also that he attempted to reconcile the seemingly divergent positions of the two. There are also numerous allusions to the *Vṛttikāra*⁸ in the *Locana* though no such opposition between the *Vṛttikāra* and the *Kārikākāra* is meant to be emphasized. P. V. Kane⁹ is of opinion that whenever the expression *Grantha-kṛt* occurs in the *Locana*, the allusion is to 'Ānandavardhana'¹⁰ and that the *Kārikākāra* is always referred to by the term *Mūla-grantha-kṛt*.¹¹

These points serve as the sheet-anchor of the theory that Abhinavagupta regards the anonymous *Dhvanīkāra* to be different from Ānandavardhana, the *Vṛttikāra*. And Abhinavagupta's testimony is considered to be of greater weight than those of his successors,¹² in settling this vexed question.

As against these evidences, may be pitted now other statements of Abhinavagupta himself which appear to favour the theory of identity of authorship:—

1. एवं कारिकां व्याख्याय तदसङ्गृहीतमलक्ष्यकमव्यङ्ग्यं प्रपञ्चयितुमाह - यस्त्विति ।

—(p. 302)

8 Vide pp. 136, 251, 259, 273. *Dhvanīloka*, Ben. Skt. Series.

9 Introduction to the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, LIX.

10 Cf. p. 26 and p. 41.

11 Cf. *Locana* (p. 312) on the *Vṛtti*—प्रतिपादितमेवैषामवलम्बनम् which reads:—

अस्मन्मूलग्रन्थकृतेत्यर्थः ।

12 Cf. P. V. Kane, *loc. cit.*

2. एवं व्यङ्ग्यस्वरूपं निरूप्य सर्वथा यत्तच्छ्रुत्यं तत्र का वार्तेति निरूपयितुमाह—
प्रधानेत्यादिना कारिकाद्वयेन ।

—(p. 494)

“Here *vyākhyāya* and *nirūpya* are words ending in the suffix ‘lyap’. In the Sanskrit language the suffix ‘ktvā’ or ‘lyap’ is used in this manner (see Pāṇini, III. iv. 21—समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले ; and VII. i. 37, ‘समासेऽनन्तरं क्तवो ल्यप’). When two actions performed by a single agent are desired to be conveyed, the suffix *ktvā* or *lyap* is added to that root which refers to the prior action as, *bbuktvā vrajati*. Similarly in the above extracts the agent of ‘*vyākhyāya*’ or ‘*nirūpya*’ should be the same as the agent of *āha*. Now the agent of ‘*vyākhyāya*’ or ‘*nirūpya*’ expounds; i.e., he is the *Vṛttikāra* that explains everything. The agent of ‘*āha*’ says or states. What does he state? ‘*Yas tu*—etc. and ‘*Pradhāna*’—etc., which are two *kārikās* (Dhv. III. 2 and III. 42), i.e., he is the *Kārikākāra*. Pāṇini’s rule quoted above requires these agents, *Vṛttikāra* and *Kārikākāra* to be identical.”¹³

3. इतीति—कारिकातद्वृत्तिनिरूपणप्रकारेणेत्यर्थः (Locana, p. 551.) being the explanation of the significance of the word ‘*iti*’ occurring in *Ityakliṣṭarasāśrayocita*—etc., one of the two concluding verses, of the *vṛtti* text. It should be noted that ‘*iti*’ in the verses is to be connected with ‘*Dhvanirdarśitaḥ*’¹⁴. This clearly makes us conclude that the *Locanakāra* entertains the view that the same author Ānandavardhana has expounded *Dhvani* through the *kārikās* as well as the *vṛtti*.¹⁵

4. Abhinavagupta quotes some *kārikās* from the *Dhvanyāloka* as Ānandavardhana’s in his *Abhinavabhāratī*, a commentary on Bharata’s *Nāṭyaśāstra* :—

(i) “एतदेवोपजीव्यानन्दवर्धनाचार्येणोक्तम्-‘सुप्तिद्वचने’त्यादि ।”

(G. O. S. Edn. of *Nāṭyaśāstra*, vol. II, p. 367.)

(ii) “एतमेवार्थं सम्यगानन्दवर्धनाचार्योऽपि विविच्य निरूपयन् (न्यरूपयन् ?)

समीक्ष्य (वि)निवेशितोऽलङ्कारवर्गः इत्युपक्रमेण

विवक्षातत्परत्वेन नाज्ञित्वेन कदाचन ।

काले च प्रहणत्यागौ नातिनिर्वहणौषिता ॥

¹³ A. Sankaran, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁴ Cf. *Bālapriyā*, commentary on the *Locana* :—

इत्यङ्गिष्ठेत्यादिश्लोकस्थस्येतिपदस्य विवरणं कारिकेत्यादि । कारिका च तद्वृत्तिश्च ताभ्यां यन्निरूपणं तत्प्रकारेणेत्यर्थः । अस्य च निर्दिशति इत्यनेन सम्बन्धः । Ben. Edn. p. 551.

¹⁵ Goda Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

इत्यादिना ग्रन्थसन्दर्भेण सोदाहरणेन । तच्चास्माभिः सहृदयालोकलोचने तद्विवरणे विस्तरतो व्याख्यातम् । (op. cit., p. 385).¹⁶

In the first of these passages, Ānandavardhana is said to be the author of the *kārikā* 'Suptinivacana' etc. (*Dhvanyāloka*, III, 16) and in the second, the allusion is clearly to the two *kārikās* ध्वन्यात्मभूते शृङ्गारे समोक्ष्य दिनिवेशितः । रूपकादिरलङ्कारवर्ग इति यथार्थताम् ॥ (II. 17) and विवक्षातत्परत्वेन etc. (II. 18). What is more, Abhinavagupta expressly states that the illustrations too come from the same pen as that of the author of these *kārikās*, who is none other than Ānandavardhana himself.

(iii) "यस्तु वेशोसंहारे भानुमत्या सह दुर्योधनस्य दर्शितो विलासः स नःयकस्य तादृशोऽवसरे अत्यनुचित इति चिरन्तनैरेवोक्तम् ।—यथा सहृदयालोककारः—

सन्धिसन्ध्यक्षुषटनं रमचन्धव्यपेक्षया ।

एतच्च विवरण एव अस्माभिवित्तय दर्शितम् । (op. cit. p. 519).

Here also the quotation is of a *kārikā*, (*Dhvanyāloka* III. 12) and it is ascribed to the author of the *Sahṛdayāloka*, which proves that *āloka* is a name standing for the entire text in prose and verse and not exclusively for the *ṛtti* portion as maintained by some scholars.¹⁷

These points favouring unity of authorship do not deserve to be sweepingly brushed aside as they are done some times. Prof. Siva Prasad Bhattacharya, for instance, dismisses these facts unhesitatingly with the bold remark ".....it is quite conceivable that he (Abhinavagupta) was relying on his memory,—and what man is infallible? We

16 A. Sankaran, op. cit., p. 51.

17 Cf. "The penultimate verse at the end of the 4th *Uddyota* (Cf..... *Kāvya* etc.), leads one to infer that *Kāvya* formed part of the name of the original work (or was itself its name, on which Ānandavardhana commented (probably it was called *Kāvya-dhvani* or simply *Kāvya* or *Dhvani*), *Dhvani-kārikā* III 53 speaks of the *kārikās* as *Kāvyalakṣaṇa*. It is therefore proper that the *ṛtti* is called *Kāvya-loka* or *Dhvanyāloka*." Kane, op. cit., p. LX.

All this is nothing but groping in the wilderness of conjectures. It is nothing short of absurd to urge seriously that a work on literary criticism was itself designated as *Kāvya*, or *Dhvani*. On the analogy of the title *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa*, however, the expression *Kāvya-dhvani* may be justified in a way. But this conclusion also will be found to be extremely improbable in the light of the fact that there is not as much as a simple reference to the work by that name in the whole range of Sanskrit poetics. In all probability, the word '*Āloka*' might as well have been the essential element in the title of the original work, the unstable element in the title being the word *Dhvani* which could be substituted by the word *Kāvya* or *Sahṛdaya* according to one's choice.

have such cases of erroneous ascription by illustrious masters in other departments of Sanskrit learning."¹⁸ This is a grave undeserving accusation.

If these statements of Abhinavagupta, then, cannot be explained away so easily, a similar difficulty will arise with regard to the explanation of the earlier statements, seen above, which favour the idea of dual authorship. It would be nothing short of impertinence to level the charge of confused thinking against the *Locanākāra*. If he spoke often of the *Kārikākāra* as distinct from the *Vṛttikāra*, there must have been a purpose behind it, and he must have meant only a functional difference between the two and not numerical difference. The traditional practice of commentators in other departments of Sanskrit learning also confirms the conclusion that this procedure of treating the authors of *kārikā* and *vṛtti* as hypothetically distinct, (for purposes of clarity in exposition) is neither exceptional nor arbitrary. Kullukabhaṭṭa records in his commentary on *Manusmṛti* that such a convention was current even amongst ancient authors:

“प्रायेण आचार्याणामयं शंको यत् स्वामिप्रायमपि परोपदेशमिव वर्णयन्ति । अत एव ‘कर्मण्यपि जैमिनिः फलार्थत्वात्’ इति जैमिनेरेव सूत्रम् । अत एव ‘तदुपर्यपि बादरायणः सम्भवात्’ इति बादरायणस्यैव शारोकरसूत्रम् ।”

Accordingly we find that writers like Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha refer to their own *kārikās* in the third person in the course of their prose *vṛtti*.¹⁹ The *kārikās* were considered to be self-contained and independent units capable of being understood without any external aid. The object of the *vṛtti* or the commentary was merely to make explicit what was already implicit in the *kārikā* text. It had to be faithful to the original in every detail and no insertion of any extraneous or irrelevant material was allowed. Judging from the *Dhvanyāloka* itself, it looks almost certain that first of all, the bare text of the *kārikās* was written out at a stretch and the implications were explained later on by the same author in the *vṛtti*.

In this connection it is interesting to note what the editor of the 18 ‘Dhvanyāloka and the Text of the Dhvanikārikās,’ *Proceedings of the Sixth Oriental Conference*, p. 617.

19 Cf. ग्रन्थारम्भे विघ्नविधाताय समुचितेष्टदेवतां ग्रन्थकृत्परामृशति ।

—*Kāvyaaprakāśa*, I, 1,

also, ग्रन्थारम्भे निर्विघ्नेन प्रारिप्सितपरिसमाप्तिकामो वाङ्मयाधिकृततया वाग्देवतायाः सांमुख्यमाधत्ते । —*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, I, 1.

*Siddhi-trayi*²⁰ by Rājānaka Utpaladeva,²¹ has got to say about this traditional custom in Kashmir:

"To append a *vṛtti* to a work seems to have been the fashion of the day (cf. *Spandavṛtti*; *Sivasūtravṛtti* etc.). The attitude adopted by the author in writing his gloss on the two *Siddhis* is markedly distinctive. He annotates in such a way that the reader is often misled into thinking that the author of the text is different from that of the gloss. The glossator (*sic*) always appears in the third person throwing the reader off the scent as regards the identity of the author and the annotator."

Dr. K. C. Pandey has adduced other instances as well to prove that even in the time of Ānandavardhana, this fashion of an identical person writing both the *kārikā* and the *vṛtti*, was very much in vogue in Kashmir.²²

And as regards the contention that Abhinavagupta uses two words, *Kārikākāra* and *Vṛttikāra*, and means to imply distinction, the same writer points out that this also does not necessarily mean difference in point of the authorship of the works so referred to. He observes:²³ "Our study of Abhinava's works tells us that it is his practice to refer to the same person as the writer of one work or another; if he has written more than one work, according as he refers to him in one capacity or another. Leaving aside other instances, if we take up that of Utpalācārya himself, we find that he is referred to both as *Vṛttikāra* and *Ṭikākāra* in one passage. On reading it, a person, not knowing the truth, is likely to fall into the error of thinking that there are two different writers referred to by these two words. The passage in question occurs in Abhinava's commentary, called *Vimarśinī*, on the first verse of Utpalācārya's *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-kārikā* or *sūtra*. It runs as follows:—

इयति व्याख्याने वृत्तिकृता भरो न कृतः तात्पर्यव्याख्यानात् यदुक्तं संवृतसौतनिर्यदेश-
विवृतिमात्रव्यापारायामिति । टोकाकारेणापि वृत्तिमात्रं व्याख्यातुं उद्यतेन नेदं स्पष्टम्

(I. 22-23).

The above quotations serve to bring out the idea how the appa-

20 Pandit Madhusudan Kaul Shastri in his preface to the *Siddhitrayi* (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, XXXIV, p. 10).

21 Whose date is the first half of the 10th Century A.D.

22 *Abhinavagupta* (An Historical and Philosophical Study), pp. 133 f.

23 *Op. cit.*, p. 134.

rent distinction made by Abhinavagupta should not be taken too literally and given too much weight as a mainstay for the argument of duality of authorship.

Dr. Satkari Mookerjee has examined at length²⁴ the several passages in the *Locana* that are supposed to favour the duality of authorship and arrives at the conclusion that the duality is only apparent and not real. His arguments deserve to be summarised here :

The mere distinction of the author of an original work, any *sūtra* or *kārikā*, from the author of the *ṛtti* is not necessarily a personal but a formal distinction, which is seen to be observed even when the same person is known to have composed both.²⁵ The original and the gloss are two different species of work and their role and status are also different. The role of the commentary is to explain what is implicitly contained in the original and it is an offence against the rules of exegesis to introduce matters foreign to the original. The offence is technically called *utsūtra-vyākhyāna*.²⁶ Fidelity to the original and observance of the limit imposed by it are absolutely *de rigueur*. It is therefore a necessity of form that the author of the gloss, even when he is the author of the original, should refer to the latter as a different person and should always comply with the subordinate role that the function of a commentator imposes upon him.

Such being the case, the differentiation made by Abhinavagupta in accordance with the rules of exegesis cannot prove separate identity of the authors. Nor can we look for any internal evidence, embodied either in the original text or in the gloss purporting or alluding to personal identity, since such a procedure would definitely go against the rule of the game. Hence the only reliable evidence which can prove the difference or identity of the authors will be extra-textual testimony.

24 Vide—*Op. cit.*

25 Cf. Vāmana's *Kāvya-lankārasūtras* and *ṛtti*; *kārikā's* and *ṛtti* in the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, *Bhāṣāpariccheda*, *Rasagaṅgādhara*; Hemacandra's *Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsā* etc.

26—Cf. यो ब्रह्मसूत्रं कथयेन्नादो गृह्येत P. 24 (Benares Edn.) cf. also तच्चेदं न सूत्रार्थकतामपि प्रतिपादयति *Pañcapādikāvivarṇa* on Śaṅkara's *Adhyāsubhāṣya* (*Brahmasūtras* I. i. 1).

As Kane himself has shown conclusively, in the *History of Alamkāra Literature* there is perfect unanimity among writers on Sanskrit Poetics beginning with Mahimabhaṭṭa down to the latest writers that the author of the *kārikās* and the *ṛtti* in the *Dhvanīloka* are a self-identical person. Mahimabhaṭṭa, Kṣemendra, and Kuntaka (all hailing from Kashmir), Rājasekhara, Hemacandra and others all regard Ānandavardhana as the author of the entire work since they quote freely from the *kārikā* portion as well as the *ṛtti* portion of the *Dhvanīloka* under the common name of *Dhvanīkāra* or Ānandavardhana. Thus there is an unbroken continuity of the tradition regarding identity of the authors of the *kārikā* and the *ṛtti*.

Now to examine closely some of the passages where Abhinavagupta distinguishes between the *Ṛttikāra* and the *Kārikākāra* :—In the first chapter the classification of Dhvani into *avivakṣitavācya*, and *vivakṣitānyaparavācya* has been given in the *ṛtti* and not in the *kārikā*. In the first *kārikā* of the second chapter the first type is subdivided into two kinds. Apart from the observations of Abhinavagupta, it would appear that this *kārikā* presupposes the classification of *Dhvani* given in the *ṛtti* in the first chapter and the natural deduction from this cross-reference would be that the author of the *kārikā* is identical with that of the *ṛtti*. Though this is the natural procedure for an identical person to make such a cross-reference, it cannot be regarded as legitimate, offending as it does, the rigid rule of exegesis described above. Accordingly Abhinavagupta, as the commentator, steps forward to justify this breach of the etiquette of exegesis by an ingenious device. In connection with the classification given in the *ṛtti* in the first chapter Abhinavagupta observes that the author of the *ṛtti* propounds this classification in pursuance of the implicit reference which will be made to it in the second chapter. In commenting on the *ṛtti* at the outset of the second chapter “Dhvani has been shown to be of two kinds etc.,” Abhinavagupta supplies the necessary corrective ‘by me, in the capacity of *Ṛttikāra*,’ that is the import. This has however not been stated in disregard of the original text (*sūtra*) but in pursuance of the intention of the *Kārikākāra*.²⁷ Here the particle *satā* is very significant. It would

²⁷ मया वृत्तिकारेण सतेति भावः । न चतन्मयोत्प्लुतमुक्तमपि तु कारिकाकारमि-

be redundant, unless the functional difference in spite of the personal identity were alluded to by Abhinavagupta.

Again the absence of refutation in the *kārikā* of the position that *Dhvani* is indefinable and the express refutation of the same in the *ṛtti* would seem to be an introduction of a topic unintended by the *Kārikākāra*. Abhinavagupta again justifies the *ṛttikāra* on the ground that he only makes explicit what is implied by the *kārikākāra*.²⁸ A *prima facie* reading of the text would rather give out the impression that the same person being the author of the *kārikā* and the *ṛtti*, he does not take the trouble to state in the original verse what he will state in the gloss. This would be a breach of etiquette which Abhinavagupta tries to explain away.

But as Dr. Mookerjee says:—"The real crux of the problem however is found in the beginning of Chapter III. The observation of Abhinavagupta hereunder seems to make him plainly assert his faith in the numerical difference of the author of the *kārikā* from that of the *ṛtti*."²⁹ The *ṛttikāra* introduces the chapter with the words: एवं व्यङ्ग्यमुखेनैव ध्वनेः प्रदर्शिते सप्रमेदे स्वरूपे पुनर्व्यङ्ग्यमुखेन तत् प्रकाशयते । Regarding Abhinavagupta's explanation of the above, Dr. Mookerjee observes: "Abhinavagupta explains the text of Ānandavardhana in a far-fetched way and makes severe animadversions upon the previous commentator, whose interpretation, however, is more satisfactory and logically more consistent than what is offered by the former."³⁰ I cannot see eye to eye with him on this point. Before I give my explanation, I shall quote the Doctor's exposition *in extenso*: "The *Candrikā*, which was the previous commentary, and which is criticised here, explains the meaning of the expression *vyāṅgyamukhena* as referring to the division of *dhvani* in respect of *vastu*, *alaṅkāra*, and *rasa*. Abhinavagupta is impatient with this interpretation. He remarks "This threefold division has been set forth by the *ṛttikāra* and not by the *kārikākāra*. Nor is the *ṛttikāra* setting forth this division here and now. So what relevancy would be there in the statement

प्रायेषोऽस्याह... (*Dhvanyālokalocana*, p. 165) तत्र प्रथमोद्घोते वृत्तिकारेण प्रकाशितः तस्य (अविवक्षितवाच्यस्य) यः प्रमेदः तत्प्रतिपादनायेदमुच्यते.....भवति मूलतो द्विमेदत्वं कारिकाकारस्यापि सम्मतमेवेति भावः ।—*Op. cit.*, p. 166.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 162-3.

³⁰ *Loc. cit.*, p. 185.

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 185

'this has been done and this is being done' in case the authors are different? Nor does this interpretation square with the entire previous text since such modes as *avivakṣitavācya* also have been demonstrated therein.³¹ Abhinavagupta accordingly explains the remarks of Ānandavardhana as having reference to the division of *Dhvanī* as *avivakṣitavācya* etc."³² This is no doubt an excellent statement of Abhinavagupta's position. The rendering of 'kartṛbhede kā saṅgatiḥ', however is not entirely satisfactory since it is capable of another meaning which would better fit in here. The other meaning is—'how can the two statements in the same breath that this has been done and this is being done be compatible unless the authors are identical? Instead of identity of authorship, difference in authorship will be brought into prominence if we interpret after the manner of the Candrikākāra that 'vyaṅgyamukhena' refers to the *Dhvanī* of *vastu* etc., since this division is mentioned expressly by the *ṛttikāra* and not the *kārikākāra*, and here the procedure of the *ṛttikāra* is not being explained, but only of the *kārikākāraka*. Hence the interpretation is not acceptable.

Then Dr. Mookherjee proceeds to give his reasons: "We must confess that Abhinavagupta's criticism of the *Candrikā* seems to be inspired more by petulance than regard to fact or logical consistency. In the first place, it is not a fact that the threefold classification of *dhvani* has not been shown in the *kārikā* itself. In II. 2, *Dhvanī* based on the expressed sense is shown to be twofold according as the sequence between the expressed and suggested sense is imperceptible. In III. 3, *Rasadhvani* as representative of the first type is dealt with. In II. 22 *Alaṅkāradhvanī* based on formal suggestiveness (*śabdaśaktyudbhava*) is discussed. In II. 23-25 the *vastudhvanī* is elaborated at length. In II. 26-31, *alaṅkāradhvanī* based upon material significance (*arthaśaktyudbhava*) is treated of rather in detail. The consideration of these facts would show that Abhinavagupta is

31 एतत् तावत् त्रिभेदत्वं न कारिकाकारेण कृतं वृत्तिकारेण तु दर्शितं; न चेदानीं वृत्तिकारो भेदप्रकटनं करोति । ततश्चेदं कृतमिदं क्रियते इति कर्तृभेदे का सङ्गतिः ।

—*et. seq., op. cit.*

32 Cf. व्यङ्ग्यमुखेन प्रदर्शिते पुनर्व्यङ्ग्यमुखेन एतत् प्रकाशयते इत्यनेन प्रदर्शनप्रकाश-नयोरैककर्तृत्वं स्वरसतः प्रतीयते तदसङ्गतं भवेदिति यावत् ।

—Bālapriyā, commentary on the above.

neither correct nor precise in his categorical assertion that the three-fold division of *Dhvani* has not been shown by the *Kārikākāra*".³³ The question is whether the *Kārikākāra* has categorically stated anywhere earlier a three-fold classification of *Dhvani* into *vastu*, *alaṅkāra* and *rasa*; not whether such a classification is unacceptable to him. Even on the evidences furnished by Dr. Mookerjee it will emerge that the *Kārikākāra* has never given such a threefold classification expressly. The classifications which the *Kārikākāra* does propose are—

1. *Asaṁlakṣyakrama* and *saṁlakṣyakrama*
2. *Śabdaśaktyudbhava* and *arthaśaktyudbhava*
3. *Praudhoktiniṣpannaśarīra* and *svataḥsambhavi*

Rasa, *alaṅkāra* and *vastu* are no doubt brought under the one or the other of the above classes. It only means that the *Kārikākāra* recognises them as some varieties or sub-varieties of *dhvani*; it does not prove that he proposes a threefold classification of *Dhvani* to include them. It is only the *Vṛttikāra* that proposes such a classification.³⁴ Abhinavagupta is fully justified in his statement to that effect.

Dr. Mookherjee continues his argument: "In the second place, Abhinavagupta's animadversion would still be unjustifiable even if it were true that the threefold classification of *Dhvani* were not dealt with in the *kārikā*, but in the *vṛtti* only. He forgets that the *vṛttikāra* could not introduce a matter which was not intended or endorsed by the *kārikākāra*, since this would involve the fallacy of *utsūtravyākhyāna*. Curiously enough Abhinavagupta himself justifies the cross-reference in the beginning of Chapter II by this device. It is incomprehensible why the same principle should not hold good in the case under consideration, were the contention of Abhinavagupta correct.³⁵" It is precisely because Abhinavagupta wants to redeem the *vṛttikāra* from the fallacy of *utsūtravyākhyāna* that he criticises the *Candrikākāra* who would land him in the said fallacy. It is quite comprehensible why Abhinavagupta does not

33 *Loc. cit.*, p. 186.

34 Cf. स ह्यर्थो वाच्यसामर्थ्यादिति वस्तुमात्रमलङ्कारा रसादयश्चेत्यनेकप्रभेद-प्रसिद्धो दर्शयिष्यते । *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 50.

35 *Loc. cit.*, p. 186.

resort to the same device as he employed in the IInd chapter interpreting the *ṛttikāra*. The two instances are not on the same footing. In the beginning of the IInd chapter, the *kārikā* would be unintelligible without a reference to the classification proposed in the *ṛtti*. The *kārikā* presupposes the classification made in the *ṛtti* since no classification of any kind whatever has been made earlier in the *kārikā*. But here the case is entirely different. The *kārikā* can be perfectly understood without any cross-reference to the *ṛtti*. Some classifications have been already made in the *Kārikā* and the text of the *kārikā* can be correctly interpreted in view of these classifications. Hence there is no need to bring in the classification proposed in the *ṛtti* also. Hence Abhinavagupta's dispute with the *Candrikākāra*. He chooses the simpler course instead of the needless one.

Regarding another passage in the *Locana* (p. 135 Nirṇaya Sagar Press Edn.) Dr. Mookherjee shows correctly how the expression 'अस्मन्मूलग्रन्थकृतेत्यर्थः' need not trouble us since the differentiation is but formal, in accordance with the etiquette of exegesis.

Again, on p. 138, (N.S. Edn.) Ānandavardhana observes '*darśita-mevāgre*' and the *Locana* on this reads: दर्शितमेवेति कारिकाकारेणेति भूतप्रत्ययः । वक्ष्यते हि श्रौचित्याद् ऋते नान्यत् रसभङ्गस्य कारणं इत्यदि । Kane explains the *Locana* as follows:—"If the *kārikā* and the *ṛtti* were the work of same author, he would have used the future tense in place of the past in the word *darśitaṃ*, when referring to what was to be discussed later on; But as the *kārikās* were the work of a predecessor and were actually before the *ṛttikāra* when he wrote this passage, he employs the words *darśitamevāgre kārikākāreṇa*." 36 As Dr. Mookherjee ably points out the *kārikās* can certainly be supposed to be logically though not necessarily, chronologically, prior to the *ṛtti* and this fact would justify the use of the past tense, whereas the use of the future tense would violate the convention of exegesis even if the two authors happened to be one and the same. Further, the argument based on the use of tense is very inconclusive in view of the fact that Ānandavardhana uses future tense also in several places in reference to what is stated later on in the *kārikās* e.g. on p. 15, p. 23, p. 26 and p. 34. It cannot be contended that the

reference is only to the *ṛtti* and not to the *kārikā* because Abhinavagupta often quotes some *kārikās* as the objects of reference.³⁷

The above summary of Dr. Satkari Mookherjee's arguments will be sufficient to disprove the hypothesis of duality of authorship accepted as valid by writers like Jacobi, De, Kane and S. P. Bhattacharya. The sheet-anchor of their hypothesis is the supposed differentiation of authorship carefully made by Abhinavagupta. While the differentiation is a fact, it has been shown above how it might have been occasioned by the demands of the rules of exegesis.

Dr. Mookherjee has also drawn attention to certain passages in the *Locana* and the *Dhuvanyāloka* which favour the view of identity of authorship :

1. Abhinavagupta at least twice³⁸ speaks of Ānandavardhana as a *śāstrakāra*. A mere *ṛttikāra* cannot deserve such high praise. Even according to Abhinavagupta, the *ṛtti* only makes explicit what is already contained in the *kārikās*. The title '*śāstra*' will significantly apply to the *kārikās* primarily and hence Ānandavardhana himself should have been the author of the *kārikās* as well if he is to merit the title of a *śāstrakāra*.

2. Abhinavagupta explains the penultimate verse '*ityakliṣṭa*' etc. by the words, *kārikā tadṛttiprakāreṇa*' implying both to be the work of an identical person.

3. The last verse proves this beyond a shadow of doubt. It states "Ānandavardhana, whose name is widely known has explicitly brought out for the edification of men of taste the real essence of true poetry, which lay dormant for all the ages in the minds of even men of mature intellect." This statement that the nature of *Dhuvani* was not discriminatingly grasped by previous writers,³⁹ and that it was for the first time developed and systematised by Ānandavardhana would become unmeaning and untrue, were the doctrine developed in *such a systematic form* by a predecessor, viz., the *Kārikākāra*, who is made

37 ततो न्यच्चित्तमेवेत्यग्रे दर्शयिष्यामः p. 34. Abhinavagupta here quotes the *Kārikā*, III. 42 as the place referred to. The use of the first person deserves notice. Again, the pledge of the *ṛttikāra* वाच्यवाचकचारुत्वहेतवो हि तस्याङ्गभूता न तु तदेकरूपा एवेति प्रतिपादायध्यमाखत्वात् is endorsed in the *Kārikā*, II. 4.

38 Vide p. 67 (N.S. Edn.); p. 533 (Ben. Edn.) cf. also p. 41 (N.S. Edn.).

39 Cf. also... अणोयसीभिरपि बुद्धिभिरनुमोलितपूर्वम् *Ṛtti* on I. 1.

out to be a different person by the theory of dual authorship. It is further remarkable that the *Kārikākāra* also makes a similar claim in III. 46 when he says that the nature of poetry was but dimly apprehended by previous writers and their failure to disentangle the same was responsible for the promulgation of the theory of *Rītis*. This identical claim for originality by both the *Kārikākāra* and the *Vṛttikāra* is intelligible only if the two are regarded as identical.

4. The following considerations are clinching: On page 79⁴⁰ Abhinavagupta comments. (He) states the meaning of the *kārikā* by means of the *vṛtti*; on p. 85, Abhinavagupta observes 'now (he) explains the expression *svarūpa* by means of the *vṛtti*'; on p. 102, the commentator says "with this intention (he) explicates in the *vṛtti*". On page 104 in the commentary it is observed "accordingly (he) will explain in the *vṛtti* in the twofold way" and on page 105 again "(he) now explains the minor subdivisions of *praudhokti* by means of *vṛtti*". "These remarks have escaped Kane, and his predecessors and successors alike but they deserve more than a passing notice. The analysis of their import reveals momentous facts. Certainly Abhinavagupta could not make these remarks if he were absolutely convinced of the truth that Ānandavardhana, *qua* the author of the *vṛtti* was numerically different from the author of the *kārikā*."

Such are the evidences, internal and external, adduced by Dr. Mookherjee to prove that Ānandavardhana is the author of the whole of the *Dhvanyāloka* including the *kārikās* and the *vṛtti*.

(To be continued).

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

40 The page references are to the Nirnaya Sāgar Press Edn.

The Importance of the 'Prākṛita Paingala' and its place in Indian Literature

1. Few works have ever been so much neglected inspite of their being a rich mine of information and exhibiting a wide range of interests, as the metrical treatise the Prākṛita Paingala (abbr. P.P.), a work of disputed authorship but very great value in the study of the New Indo-Aryan language and literature. Though we have already got two editions of the work, which were published nearly fifty years back, and although we have some cursory observations, here and there, regarding its language from interested scholars, no systematic attempt has ever been made to study the work from all standpoints, to judge its value and to determine its place among the more remarkable texts in Indian literature. A critical study of the work is thus a great desideratum. Before such an endeavour is launched, we should judge the importance of the work from all aspects and make some suggestions regarding a proper investigation.

2. The language of the work, as it has been repeatedly mentioned in the different commentaries and identified by the eminent linguists like Professors Jacobi, Grierson, Tessitori, S. K. Chatterjee and others is a late Apabhraṃśa which is more precisely called 'Avahaṭṭha' by some among them and a later stage in the continued chain of the speech the Sauraseni Apabhraṃśa. The latter which was based on a dialect of the mid-land and the Gangetic valley was something like a 'lingua franca' of the whole tract of North India for several centuries before the conquest of the North India by the Turks. It continued to be so even after the arrival of the Turks but approximated itself gradually with the progress of times to the vernacular elements i.e. New Indo-Aryans which were fast appearing then. So, the western Apabhraṃśa which was cultivated over a vast stretch of land extending from Punjab to Bengal contained dialectal peculiarities proper to the spoken tongues of the different provinces—but in a greater degree those of Rajputana due to the activities of the Rajput chiefs, under whose patronage the local bards composed their verses. Such a literary language with an admittedly hybrid and eclectic character, which soon came into the field

and was the legitimate offspring of the Saurasenī Apabhraṃśa was called Avahaṭṭha and in the chain of the evolution of the great Indo-Aryan speech it was an intermediate stage between the literary Saurasenī Apabhraṃśa and the modern spoken and literary tongue Brajabhākhā, which again are also dialects of the mid-land or closely resemble them with a number of connected speeches. The Avahaṭṭha speech was sometimes called 'Piṅgala' and it was sometime set in contrast to 'Diṅgala' which is known to be the Old Western Rājasthānī. The Prākṛita Paiṅgala which is composed in the Avahaṭṭha dialect thus contains in a greater degree the provincial vernacular forms which were accepted in the literary language even just at the time of their first appearance and it will be of profound interest to carry out an investigation into the origin of the various New Indo-Aryan speeches. So any student of modern Indian language interested in a study of the growth and development of the New Indo-Aryan speeches and their interrelations can never do away with the 'Prākṛita Paiṅgala.' It will be a great task indeed to show which particular provincial speech furnished some of the basic elements in the language of the stanzas quoted as examples in the Prākṛita Paiṅgala and to what extent they exerted their influence upon the basic tongue.

3. Next comes the consideration of metre. It will be shown that from the point of view of metrics, the 'Prākṛita Paiṅgala' is quite indispensable. It is interesting to note that in tracing the source of the chief or important metres of the modern western languages, like Gujrāṭī, Mārāṭhī, Rājasthānī, Hindī and others, we will have to fall back upon Apabhraṃśa in which we observe first the origin and development of rhyme and the subtle niceties of cadence. The metres which are discussed in the 'Prākṛita Paiṅgala' have survived to the present day in those dialects, but these have sometimes assumed different names and form, due to manifold re-adjustments of the syllables and morae (mātrās) on the old structures which had been long ago constructed or adapted by the Apabhraṃśa versifiers. So any body interested in a study of metres of the modern western languages of the Aryan stock can never do without the 'Prākṛita Paiṅgala' which is the most important source of that particular art, and we should not think that the 'Prākṛita Paiṅgala' has exerted no influence on the metres of the languages of the extreme east which have developed new habits in metrics, viz. Oriya, Bengali and Assamese that are descended from

Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa. Though the new vernacular metre 'Payār' overwhelmed these dialects and removed from the field the traditional Apabhraṃśa metres the latter somehow survived in the composition of few poets who were charmed more by the cadence of the old metres and thought the earlier metres more worthy for their subjects than the monotony of the 'Payār' and the Lāchāḍī metres of Eastern India. Thus in Bengali, for instance, after the appearance of this new form of versification, the Apabhraṃśa metres continued to be cultivated or even revived by the Vaiṣṇava poets who had to alter their tongue from Bengali to a mixed Bengali, Maithili-Apabhraṃśa to suit it to the metre. This Apabhraṃśa tradition re-established by the Vaiṣṇava lyrists has continued down to modern times and no less a poet than Rabindranath seized the opportunity of composing stanzas in the old Apabhraṃśa style. So for a proper study of the metres of these eastern languages as well, the 'Prākṛita Paiṅgala' should be considered. It should be mentioned that there are also a few other works which deal with Apabhraṃśa metres. Of these the *Chandonuśāsana* of Hemacandra and the *Chandaḥkośa* of Ratnasekhara seem to be of considerable importance. But none of these two can stand a comparison with the 'Prākṛita Paiṅgala' since the work of Hemacandra as it is earlier than the latter by nearly three centuries cannot show the development of some important metres which came into prominence in the vernacular period; while the work of Ratnasekhara which was just one century later than the 'Prākṛita Paiṅgala' is rather brief and is highly indebted to Hemacandra's treatise. So the importance of the work for a study of the various vernacular metres can never be minimised.

4. The Prākṛita Paiṅgala which can be looked from different aspects is mainly intended to enumerate the laws of metre. Incidentally it is also a beautiful anthology of Apabhraṃśa and Avahatṭha popular poetry. The illustrative verses of the work considered separately from the metrical rules which they illustrate can surely vie with the best of their kind given in other anthologies or occurring in other texts. A close study of these illustrative poems exhibits us broadly four different varieties:— (1) poems describing the beauties of the different seasons and dealing with the human love which sometimes is of a highly sensual character, (2) those which describe war incidentally mentioning some of the mediaeval Indian princes, and (3) the verses which are religious in nature inasmuch as they are in praise of deities

like Śiva and Kṛṣṇa, and in those verses the particular deity praised is given honours as the supreme deity, finally (4) we have some verses of a general interest giving the reader a glimpse into the social life of the people and describing the prevalent manners and customs, the popular thoughts and imaginations, ideas and beliefs—what is known in German as 'spruche poetry'; so the study of the anthology will furnish sufficient materials for different lines of linguistic and ethnic study. The work as an anthology is nothing very profound or all-embracing, it is not a type of work comparable with the Mahābhārata or the Homeric poems or Shakespeare: but it has a pleasing and very human lyrical quality which cannot be ignored.

5. The 'Prākṛita Paiṅgala' as it has been already hinted in the previous paragraph has some historical value which deserves consideration. At the time of the composition of the present work or a bit earlier, the Turko-Iranian muslims who were already established as conquerors in north India were fighting with the local Hindu kings for supremacy and also for deeper penetration into the country. The Rajput chiefs of the different clans both in Rajaputana and in the Punjab and Gangetic India who were engaged in internecine warfares and deadly feuds were gradually losing ground in successive fights with those muslim invaders. The 'Prākṛita Paiṅgala' which mentions some of these Rajput princes and their tussles with the muslim adversaries occasionally gives a good expression to patriotic and heroic sentiments of those chiefs. The faithfulness of the followers of those Rajput princes is also a theme of many of these poems. Thus the 'Prākṛita Paiṅgala' with its glowing pictures of Rajput chivalry will certainly be treated as a literary work of interest by all students of Indian history. Besides, occasional references to the art of war as practised by the early medieval Rajput feudatory chiefs also have their value for both literature and history: we get in the music of these verses an echo of the array of snorting and galloping horses and trumpeting elephants and of troops marching through enemy territory with their military bands of drums beating.

6. The stirring centuries of Turki expansion with all the attendant ruins of warfare made people long for peace, and this longing for peace forms a noteworthy back-ground in some of the Prākṛita Paiṅgala poems. The intelligent readers may get here by a sweep flight of imagination a glimpse of the social life of the civic peace-loving people, who liked to remain quite far from the turmoil, when India was being sacked

and razed by the aggressive muslim plunderers. Though the common folk were outside the pale of political intrigues and the sinister diplomatic machinations, they had to bear certainly the brunt of cruel aggressions which stunned them beyond comprehension. Attacks and counter-attacks, aggressions and counter-aggressions, the mighty surges of the indomitable human passions let loose during the wars ruthlessly stifled the genial current of life that was slowly flowing behind the political upheavals. As a result of such overwhelming changes, there were everywhere sincere pathetic cries for peace and the re-establishment of home and hearth. This phenomenon explains well the deep longing for a secluded peaceful home-life, which in contrast to the benumbing horrors of the war loomed large to the vision of the helpless war-stricken people.

7. The Prākṛita Paiṅgala has its contribution to make for the study of popular religion and folklore. The religious atmosphere, here, is that of the late medieval and finished Hindu Purāṇic religion with its emphasis on Bhakti with the symbol of Viṣṇu and his incarnations Rāma and Kṛṣṇa on the one side, and on Jñāna with the figure of Śiva on the other. Besides a remarkable emphasis upon Bhakti and Jñāna, which characterise some of the stanzas of the Prākṛita Paiṅgala, as also many other old Hindu texts, we find in the former many popular conceptions, beliefs and religious practices winding round the ancient deities and changing their character. We like to refer here, particularly to the gods Śiva and Kṛṣṇa, who underwent countless changes at the hands of the zealous devotees. The character of Śiva who is none but the god Rudra of the Vedic pantheon, is so much altered by the Tantrists as also by the common folk, that he can no longer be recognised in his old descriptions. In this later period, he is painted, sometimes, as a solitary god living in the crematory in the association of evil spirits, and drinking wine and other prohibited intoxicants. Sometimes again, he is described as a poor beggar, who is disturbed by the exacting problems of life and stand surrounded by his own hungry children with starvation staring at his face. While Śiva was invested with such queer features, the modifications in Kṛṣṇa's character did not seem to be so much shocking. Kṛṣṇa, the great hero of the *Bhāgavata*, *Harivaṃsa* and the *Mahābhārata*, was not singularly marked merely by dint of his superior strength and gallantry; on the contrary, an exuberant eroticism

and emotional raptures of the most uncontrollable hectic passions, became very mysteriously connected with his life. Rādhā who did not occur in the very ancient texts, was also ingenuously introduced at this later period, to make the love-sports of Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana far more appealing. Though arguments have been lavishly adduced to give a spiritual explanation of the amorous sports of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, it must be candidly admitted that their descriptions, show nothing superhuman as they merely spread very obnoxious stinks of gross sensuality. But such a turn in Kṛṣṇa's character was certainly a very great incentive to the poets and dramatists, who cleverly seized these love legends of Kṛṣṇa and refashioned them, according to their needs, with creative imagination, peculiar to themselves. The Prakṛita Paṅgala in which palpable modifications in the character of the old godheads are quite obvious, will thus stand on the same level with the recent Purāṇas, as regards changes in the conception of deities, and be of immense value in studying the evolution of the same. By a careful observation we will surely be able to find here how the religious and devotional sentiments of the people were being given most suitable expressions. It will give us also a glimpse into the nature of man's approach to the god and his submission to him with a feeling of reverence and awe—a very old note struck, already, from the very ancient days of the Vedas.

S. N. GHOSHAL

The Emergence of an Ādhyātma-Śāstra or the Birth of the Yogavāsīṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*

The problem of fabrication, forgery or false impersonation is an age-old problem in ancient classic literature. In the case of ancient Indian lore it has acquired a degree of notoriety at least since the startling and absurd fulminations of Dugald Stewart. But it has to be candidly admitted that Sanskrit literature, especially of the type that is legendary and antique in outlook, because of its form and formality and the mode and manner of its conservation through tradition (*sampradāya*) is pre-eminently amenable to this virus. The *Yogavāsīṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*, the sources of inspiration of which lie in antiquity, is a case in point. Any one that gives it a perfunctory reading will be impressed by its old advaitic view, smacking of *ārṣa* and *upaniṣadic* knowledge ; but none who has the time and the patience to plod through its thirtytwo thousand *grantha* contents and scans them in their proper perspective can fail to be impressed by its modern make-up. For quite a number of years the present-day student has had to be regaled with theories of its comparative antiquity—of its being a pre-Śaṅkara work and so forth. He is not entirely to blame for this. The difficulties in the intensive study and proper assessment of the work are manifold—it has all along been more or less a sectarian work, finding favour with a *coterie* of *Sannyāsins* and their *clientele*, unlike the *Bhagavadgītā* which has claimed for ever the widest appeal. The verbosity in style, prolixity in imagery, the unwieldy size and the ornamental flourish in its expression have taken away much of its utility as a sober work on ādhyātmaśāstra. The manner of its approach and exposition has nothing in common with the scholastic form of presentation and academic dialectics in philosophical treatises. It is therefore nothing strange that Western Indologists have not given it their quota of attention as is their wont. Even an informed and versatile scholar like the late Prof. Keith is led by the current theories in dating

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this work in his *Sanskrit Literature*¹ With indigenous scholars of the old world it has equally withstood the inquisitiveness for analytic sifting of its materials on external and internal evidence, simply because it calls itself a *Rāmāyaṇa*.

But the *Y. V. R.* in its original form and in its sister compendium the *Y. V. Sāra* unfolds its entrancing tale of origin in none the less convincing manner and like the *Janma-Khaṇḍa* of the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* and the *Ādhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*² which are apocryphal works, to name only two very prominent works in the line, carry traces of its late inception. I am leaving out the *uttarārdha* (the latter half) of the *Y. V. R.*, which, inspite of its kindred planning and its containing a few familiar and oft-quoted epigrams, is a later appendage. It has to be conceded however, that the manipulation is just in its form and design and is quite methodically played. The *ṣaṭsamvāda*-nucleus, the *sine-qua-non* of Pauranic narration is there in the cycle of Brahman, Vālmiki and Bharadvāja (be it noted that Gauḍa Abhinanda, who, as we shall presently prove, is the author of the work, was of Bharadvāja gotra, as noted in the *Kādambarīkathāsāra* portion referring to his lineage). In *Vairāgya* section, chap. II of the original work (vv. 4-6) we are told how the *vinīta dhīmat śiṣya* (author) derives it as the fruit of his labours on the devoted study of the *Rāmāyaṇa*; of which he has given another tangible proof in his own way of summarising that great epic in the fashionable court-epic mould in the *Rāmacarita*. Vālmiki, we are told, urges him not to desist from this apparently thankless and difficult job until its completion (*vide Vair.* II. 13, and the commentary of Ānanabodhendhra Sarasvatī thereon) because unlike the original *Rāmāyaṇa*, of the Ādi-Kavi, it is meant to be an *Ādhyātma-śāstra*, that will ferry people through the difficult ocean of birth and rebirth. The devotional approach (I. 3. 1) no less than the ambitious

1 Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 480:—.....
 "A comparatively early specimen not much distinguished from the Vedānta.....
moderately old; summarized in the ninth century by the Gauḍa Abhinanda in the *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra*.

2 The *Yogavāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*—Its probable date and place of inception.

3 The former is presumably the handiwork of Rūpa Goṣvāmin, the trusted follower of Śrī Caitanya of Bengal, the latter is by Rāmānanda, the S. Indian philosopher of the 16th century settled in Benares (*vide M.R. Sastrin's paper on the Ādhyātma Rāmāyaṇa in the Journal of the G. N. Jha Institute, 1944*).

design of the later poet-producer, who is a *vādin*, *vāgmin* and a *kavi* in one (I. 44) is brought into prominence in the sister compendium the *Y. V. Sāra*, which in its colophon at the end describes the author as *tarkavādiśvara*, *sāhityācārya*, *Gauḍamaṇḍalālāmḥkāra*, Abhinandapaṇḍita. It ascribes the authenticity of the subject-matter to the Siddhas⁴ who in and about the 9th century A.C. in Kashmirian thought, in the works of the Śaiva Āgama thereof and more particularly in the works of Gauḍa Abhinanda, specially the *Y. V.* and the *R. C.* occupy a place of honour as the promulgators of a semi-mystic creed, deriving its essence from realisation and intuition. Chapter XLIV, vv. 14-16, describes how this inner vision as revealed to Rāma in Ayodhyā was propagated (*avatārita*) in Kashmir, out of pity for the people thereof. Verse 34 of the same chapter envisages the effects of a study of the ocean-like work which is styled (v. 25) as *Mokṣopāya*, a name vouchsafed for the original work in the earlier part of the *Vairāgya* section. The *Y.V.S.* claims its descent like the moon from *cidambara* (the sky of inner intelligence), is the receptacle of *ānanda* of the upaniṣadic type and is deep in its nectarine content. The *Tantrāloka* (Āhnika 37) of the reputed Śaiva philosopher Abhinavagupta,—who appears to have been a contemporary of Abhinanda, whom he describes in his *Dhvanīyālokalocana* as the son of the well known Bhaṭṭa Jayanta⁵,—refers to the filtration of traditional instruction from such teachers (*pūrvāśrutānyakalayam svabuddhya śāstrāṇi*) and along with the *Tantrasāra* gives a list of such teachers. The *Y. V. Sāra*, chap. XLIV, vv. 24-25 would trace this knowledge right up to Lord Śiva himself, thence through him to Viṣṇu, Nārada etc. One notable Siddha (was he in the strictly direct line of Abhinanda's teachers of *ādhyātmaśāstra*?) Hariharārya is singled out as the *guru* par excellence (*Y. V. S.*, chap. XLIV, vv. 2 to 4). The *Y. V.* in the sub-section *sama* under Mumukṣu (chap. XIII, 22)

4 That the Siddhas (*Y.V.R.* Upasama VIII) during this period and in later thought as incorporated in the vernacular literature of Bengal, Nepal and Mithilā, were an influential section, different from scholastics and academicians, admits of no doubt.

5 Vide the *Dhvanīyālokalocana*, Chap. III, in its reference to the *Kādambarī-kathāsāra*. 'Bhaṭṭa Jayantarya' the generally printed reading is wrong and not supported by two of the reliable mss. of the work as deposited in the Bhandarkar Research Institute Mss. collection.

remembers this master with deference and recognises him as a *jīvanmukta*.

The philosophical stuff doled out is a curious amalgam of *anakyeyatā* or *anirdeśyatva*, associated with the Buddhists⁶ in Indian thought, *vivartavāda* ably propounded by the grammarian-philosopher Bhartṛhari, of *Spandavāda* which in its formulated form could never have been taught earlier than the latter half of the 9th century and of a variety of Yoga in theory and practice as known to us in manuals like the *Agastyasambhitā*, *Yogiyājñavalkya Hathayoga-pradīpikā* and drawn upon by the commentators Advayāraṇya, Mumukṣudeva and Ānandabodhendra (e.g. in *Upāsama* chap. VIII, LXX). In another context in the same section called the *Siddhagītā* (chap. VIII), the Siddhas are designated as the teachers of this occult creed and art (vv. 7-18)—a portion appearing in full in the epitome Y.V.S. In spite of its Pauranic set up the Y.V. relies much on this out-of-the-way inspiration model and has a naïve and effective method of demonstrating the utility and infallibility of such alien views (*paramata*), often described as *sadāgama*, perhaps with a *double entendre* referring also to the canonical literature of the Buddhist prototype, as distinct from those of the orthodox (*Mumukṣu* XIII. 1-3, 9, 68-70). From the type of *advaita* thought we meet with generally here to the emphasis of the post-Śaṅkara *advaitins*, relying on *māyāvāda*, *āropa* and *adhyāsa* as in VI, 125, is a far off cry. But, as we have noted above, the Y.V. was exploited by a certain section of *advaitins* who managed to append the latter half of the Uttarakāṇḍa VI (the sixth section forming virtually a seventh section) like the 7th Uttarakāṇḍa of the original Rāmāyaṇa to serve as the useful organ of their creed. The prefatory remarks of Advayāraṇya are a sufficient pointer,⁷ though

6 E.g. in the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana (close of Chap. III).

यत्त्वनिर्देश्यत्वं सर्वलक्षणविषये बौद्धानां प्रसिद्धं तत्...

7 अथ...परमात्मा भगवान्नारायणः कल्पादौ चैवाणि तमःप्रधानानि जीवांश्च चित्-प्रधानान् भावनाज्ञानकर्मानुसारेण ससर्ज ।...अवतीर्य च वशिष्ठशिष्यताविडम्बनां धारयन् आख्यानावलिमण्डितेन षट्संवादेन ज्ञानामृतरसमाविश्वकार ।...तथा च वातिकम् :—

स्वभासफलकारुणं तदेवारूपकं परम् । ब्रह्मविद्याधिकारित्वं द्वैविध्यात् प्रतिपद्यते । तं च वशिष्ठ-राम-संवादं दिव्यज्ञानसम्पन्नो भगवान् वाल्मीकिर्द्वाविंशच्छ्लोकसहस्रैर्निर्वचन्ध । तमिमं वशिष्ठ-समुद्रं मन्दमतिदुस्तरमालोक्य परमकारुणिकः काश्मीरपण्डितप्रभिनन्दनामा श्लोकानां षट्साहस्रं तस्मादुज्जहार ।

none of the recognised adherents of monistic Vedānta excluding however the authors of the *Pañcadaśī*, and the *Vedāntasiddhānta-muktāvalī* of Prakāśānanda Saraswati, whom Bengal tradition associates with Śrī Caitanya and a less known Smṛti work *Jagannāthapṛakāśa*, composed in 1598 at the instance of the Emperor Akbar (A.S.B. Smṛti Ms. number 2041) seem to know of its authority. The reference to the Y. V. in the *Samkṣepaśāriraka* (II. 182) of Sarvajñamuni (9th century) is wrongly assumed by P. C. Divanji. The situation and the sequel are as much divergent as possible as a commentary of Madhusudana Sarasvati on the *Siddhāntabindu* (G.O.S. edition p. 111) clearly proves.

While this is just to show that Winternitz's view that 'the Y.V. was the work of a contemporary of Śaṅkara' cannot stand, Keith's assertion that 'the Y.V. was summarised in the 9th century' is not supported by facts. The Y.V. *Sāra* is only a *samgraha*, an *uddhāra* (extract), —(it goes by the name of *Sāroddhāra*). Other commentators like Advayāranya, who certainly was not the first to comment on the Y. V. *Sāra*, recognise this and testify to the popularity of the Y.V. *Sāra* which does not know the *uttarārdha* of the Nirvāṇa. It is recognised only in Ānandabodhendra's commentary (1707 A. C.). While Advayāranya seems to know of it as *ṛddhāvāśiṣṭha* is near about his time and perhaps not very much earlier than him that the appendage was ushered into existence, treating of *ahantā*, *nirvāṇa* or *mukti*, *advaitaika*, *avidyā* in the accepted fashion and technology of the post-Śaṅkara monistic Vedāntins, though cleverly, for the original ground-work of the *Spanda*-ideology and *vivartavāda* was occasionally introduced as in the concluding portion of this appendix (216, vv. 19-20). I am inclined to think that some more verses in the earlier sections as the beginning of work (V chap. I.) the *śloka-kūṭas* (Utpatī I. 1-4,) which are surcharged with advaitic technology did not form part of the original work and that Ānandabodhendra's text has missed certain verses (as in chap V, vv. 5-9 of the *Sāra*) of the original text. While Ānandabodhendra's immediate *guru* might have known this pattern of the context a previous commentator Rāmānandatīrtha (14th century?) who com-

It has got to be noted that the shorter work has come to be briefly designated as *Sāra* (a name applied throughout in this paper also), is a misleading and confusing title.

mented on the *Y.V. Sāra* did not know it. The *Y.V.* came into high favour at about the close of the 14th century when it was presumably enlarged to make it more Vedantic and was at its height of popularity in the 17th century. The *Sarvavidyānidhāna* to Kavindrācārya's library knew this, the *Kavindrācandrodaya* indicates its intensive study, though Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha's characterisation of it as a *prabandha* (Anana I close) would betray that it was not regarded as an *ārṣa* work in his time. It fell to the lot of Ānandabodhendra to comment on it thus enlarged and this is leavened by his assertion of being the first commentator on the work. A Saivite interpretation of this enlarged text in 1 lakh 10 thousand *granthas* by Bhāskaraṇṭha is known to have been composed in the latter half of the 18th century. The *ṣaṭsamvāda* criterion of the *Purāṇa* was also given a distorted interpretation in view of the fact that in the later appendage as much as in the prelude Agniveśya and Karunya Agasti and Sutikṣṇa are introduced over above Rāma and Vālmiki to make up the number. This finishes the question of the set-up, planning and finishing the work as we now have it—a task which might have taken up no less than four or five centuries and in which were requisitioned the services of some generations of scholars bent upon revising, reorienting and finishing a work that had another purpose to serve.

Now to come to recent research bearing on it. Farquahar's dating of the work (13th-14th century) is purely conjectural—it can serve only as the lower limiting date. The present writer's first article in the Madras Oriental Conference (1924) covered new ground and contains nothing that has proved to be wrong. As to the Buddhist setting and inspiration noted therein, the writer adheres to his opinion. Śaivism in the form known in the 10th-12th century was not much removed from Buddhist leanings in Kashmir. As Stein notes in the introduction to his translation of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (p. 9): —“The contrast which this (Kalhaṇa's) partiality for Buddhist cult and traditions presents to avowed Śaivism of Kalhaṇa is more apparent than real. For centuries before Kalhaṇa's time Buddhism and the orthodox creeds had existed peacefully side by side in Kashmir. As far as the laity was concerned they had to a great extent amalgamated”. The *Kāvya* style and its paraphernalia, the favouritism for certain forms and formalities, the synthetic or liberal outlook and a reference to geography and topography (Bhuvanakoṣa) as well as an occasional mixing up of prose

and verse in the manner of the Purāṇas—are to be noted as prominent characteristics of the work; in a manner they do characterise the author as well. Dr. B. L. Atreya in his work on the *Y.V.R.* and in his paper on the probable date thereof (1933), taking his stand on Gauḍa Abhinanda's summarising the *Y.V.* (which is not a true statement) and on other debatable grounds, e.g., lack of reference to the terminology of Śaṅkara's philosophy is inclined to take the work back to the 6th century A.C. The fact is that Bhartṛhari and Gauḍapāda are followed in, rather than the followers of, the *Y. V.* P. C. Divanji from 1933 onwards in a series of papers on the subject has pointed out, among other things the reference to King Yasaskara of Kashmir (c. 950) in *Y.V. Sthiti*. XXXII. 11-19 and opines that the work must have been in existence in about 900 A.C. and then arrives at the conclusion that the present redaction of the *Y.V.* is a revised and re-arranged edition of that original work. No sufficient evidence has been adduced to support this position. Dr. S. N. Dasgupta in his *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. II among other things finds fault with the writer because of his assertion that Ānandabodhendhra is the first commentator on the original work, oblivious of the fact that the commentaries he has in mind as earlier ones are on the *Y. V. Sāra* and not on the *Y. V.* He ignores also the alternative that these two can be the same work coming from the same pen. The present writer in his *Gauḍa Abhinanda and the Y. V. R.*⁸ has held that this alternative is the only possible solution of the problem, care being taken of the identity of certain verses in the *Y. V.*, *Y. V. Sāra* and the *Rāmacarita* (published in the G. O. S.) and has deduced a date (c. 1000 A.C.) consistent with citations and internal literary evidence. In a paper on the same subject contributed to the same Conference Svami Bhumananda pleads for the earlier pre-Śaṅkarite dating. Dr. V. Raghavan reviewing the position (1941) is of opinion that the author of the *Y. V.* can be hardly earlier than the 12th century; he does not apparently subscribe to the view that Gauḍa Abhinanda should be regarded as the author of the original and of the *Sāroddhāra* and has scruples about the identification of this Abhinanda with the author of the *Rāmacarita*, like the editor of that work in the G. O. Series. A careful perusal of the *R. C.* and the *Y. V.* would lead one to the conclusion that they

have a common authorship. The mental outlook and philosophy (nothing original but in a sweetly vague and undogmatic fashion) are mere reproduction of certain set views which in the larger work are reiterated to a degree of satiety and in the other displayed more artistically and judiciously. To mention one particular item. The predicament preliminary to *vairāgya*,—even in the *Kādambarī-kathāsāra* (III. 95ab) we have the same ideology—is harped on by the poet as his other Śaivāgama theory of grace (*śaktipāta*) as a corollary to *deśanā* (revelation); these indeed are not peculiar to him, for we meet with such ideas told in the same fashion in other Kashmir works as in the *Tantrasāra*, *Tantrāloka* (VIII. 75), *Anuttaraṭīkā* and *Paramārthācāra* of Abhinavagupta. The outstanding tie of affinity connecting the above works is the *verbatim* agreement in *R. C.* XXI. 99-145, 148, 166 and *Y. V.* *Nirvāṇa* CXXVII. 11-58 and in *R. C.* IX. 4-20, 29, 50, 51, 57, 65, 66, corresponding to *Y. V.* *Nirvāṇa* CXXVIII. 78-94 (barring out certain elaborations in the manner of Pauranic descriptions and in execution in the form of Yamaka verses IX. 28, 30, 31, 37 and the reference to the utility of incarnations, a pet theme after the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* in poets like Kṣemendra, Jayadeva and Śrīharṣa, the author of the *Naiṣadha-carita*). It is noteworthy that the *Y. V. Sāra* also has them in toto. There cannot be a surer index of identity in authorship than this. No Sargabandha writer has ever appropriated verses in a lump in more than one context from other works, be they of the pauranic or the great-epic type. The possibility of the *Y. V.* text here being interpolated or a later production than the *R. C.* is ruled out, because the *Y. V.* and the *Y. V. Sāra* both have it and other important considerations of form, manner and mannerism, to which we shall presently advert, stand in the way. The nice skill in summarisation and adaptation, almost a second nature with Abhinanda, dominantly present in *R. C.* VIII, in *Nirvāṇa* LII-LVIII (Arjunopākhyāna or the *Gītāsāra*) which are all incorporated in the *Y. V. Sāra*, the delicate descriptive touches in both, as much as the reiteration in the belief in transmigration, employed as a *motif* after Bāṇa, in the *Kādambarī-kathāsāra*, the *R. C.* and the *Y. V.* are sufficient evidences to prove that the hand that produced the *Kad. K. S.* as a juvenile exercise was the hand that wrote the *Y. V.* in the elaborate Pauranic pattern and the *R. C.* in the Sargabandha type of finished workmanship. The resemblances go

up to minute niceties. The skill in the use of the Anuṣṭubh which as a younger contemporary Kṣemendra mentions was the *forte* of his composition, his going out of the way for a story or a digression—the *ākhyānabhūyiṣṭhata* is the distinguishing characteristic of the Y. V.—appearing in the Sargabandha work too; his partiality towards certain words, roots and their derivatives like *abhi-nand*, *abhi-ram*, *vi-las*, *bi-nud*, forms like *deśana*, *deśika*, use of words like *sitala*, *pivara*, *tarala*, *ghana* in their secondary sense and a favouritism for less known words like *damara*, *pramila*, with their political, philosophical and sociological connotation in the background, his exulting in the use of inference in the manner of the Tārkikas (be it remembered that he was proud of his descent from Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, the *navavṛttikāra* of significant title), his facility in coining words, inventing sweet names and appropriate jingling epithets in the manner of his master Bāṇa e.g. *Bhāsa-vilāsavṛttānta*, *sūcivisavisūcikapākyāna*, *nāmna tvarundhati bhārya bhumi-uyomnyarundhati* (Utpatti XIX. 2cd) and as in the R. C. II. 103, XXI, 87-98, his fondness and high regard for the example and precept of his father whom he describes (K.K.S. I. 10) as *kṛtajanānanda* Jayanta⁹ who was lucky in having two distinct types of attainments (*kavitvavaktṛtvaphala Sarasvatī*) to his credit which were his own as the poet fondly styles himself in the Y. V. *Sāra tarkavādīśvara*, *sābhityācārya*, all these serve to corroborate the ascription of the authorship of these works to him. His renouncing all claims to originality and guaranteeing as traditional the creed he has to emphasize are on a par with his father's manner and he often copies his father in his mannerisms of expression.⁹ As for the reduplicated form of the same work in two labels only differing in size and scope of appeal, the Y. V. and the Y. V. *Sāra*, we have interesting parallels in the literary history of Kashmir. Leaving out the notable instance of Utpaladeva, (the founder-organiser of the Pratyabhijñā school), who himself wrote the *Kārikā*, the *Vṛtti* and the *Ṭikā*, the last a voluminous work, or of the reputed philosopher father Jayanta, who wrote the *Nyāyakanikā*, a manual, and the *Nyāyamañjarī*, a very big and ambi-

9 वादेष्वाप्तजयो जयन्त इति यः ख्यातः सतामग्रणीः । the last but one verse of the *Nyāyamañjarī*; कुतो वा नूतनं वस्तु वयमुत्प्रेक्षितुं क्षमाः । वाक्यविन्यासवैचित्र्यमात्रमल-विचार्यताम् ॥...इदमान्वीक्षिकीक्षीरान्नवनीतमिवोद्धृतम् ॥ Cf. Y.V. *Sāra*. XLIV. 25. ततः क्षीरनिधिप्रहमात् पीयूषमिदमुद्धृतम् ।

tious work, works which may be explained away as having a different planning or setting, we have Abhinavagupta's example of writing synopsis or synopses of his own works. The *Tantrāloka*, his *magnum opus* has its abridgment in the *Tantrasāra*, a popular treatise, a sketch in the *Tantroccaya* and a briefer *résumé*, a catechism in the *Tantravāṭadhānikā*. The *Y. V. Sāra* is less discursive and more business-like than the *Y. V.*, has a glorious and propitious beginning (*divi bhumau... Y. V. Vair.* II. 1,) befitting the nature of the subject, is well planned and brings into prominence all the essential features which the author meant to be the distinguishing characteristics of his bigger work including the *upākhyānas* which in it occupy the major part (thirtynine out of fortysix chapters). It has been the more popular, as the large number of commentaries beginning from at least the 14th century testifies. Not that there is nothing of elaboration and exposition in it. Indeed these latter are his objective and not originality of views-exposition coupled with a poetic presentation in the manner of his father; *vaktṛtva* to him as to old Indian tradition, implied dexterity in exposition and not elocution and oratory; and this end has been admirably achieved by the *Y. V. Sāra*. We in these days might have liked a still more concise presentation. Elaboration and summarising are two contradictory processes—it is a marvel that Abhinanda was a skilful craftsman in both. It is not at all unlikely that the *Y. V. Sāra* (minus chapter XLIV) treating of himself, his Siddha heritage and his *clientele* and of course the colophon) was written earlier and the plan of the bigger work emerged as a process of elaboration, (cf. *Y. V.* II. 18; *Mammatā*, XVIII). The fears of the author whether he may finish this ambitious unwieldy work (*Vair.* II. 13) might have been due as much to his old age as to the stupendus nature of the task. It is equally likely that the *R. C.* was produced before the bigger work, though certain it is that it was recast as the criticism in a fault-finding spirit of a well known verse *militam yadabbirāmatādhike*¹⁰ by Mahimabhaṭṭa as well as by Mammatā (beside these two poeticists we know of Bhoja—c. 1025 A.C.—who has

10 This is the reading in the *Vyaktiviveka* in which work the *R.C.* is first found to be cited. Kuntaka however knows the *R.C.* by name. Mammatā alters the line arrangement and reads, साधु चन्द्रमसि पुष्करैः कृतम्... The text we have in print is सङ्कुचद्विरभिरामताऽधिके...

utilised very liberally the verses in the *K.K.S.* and the *R. C.*) would indicate, the blemish noted being got rid of in the form we have it presented now. Indeed it is probable, as the cumulative evidence of the praśasti verses¹¹ of the *R. C.* goes to show, that the *R. C.* which might have had an unappreciative welcome in the land of its origin, was highly applauded in the court of the reigning Pāla potentate of Bengal.

The autobiographical tit-bit in the *Y. V. Sāra* and the adjective in the colophon there (*Gauḍamaṇḍalālāṃkāra*) serve to show that the *Y. V. Sāra* also was given a finishing touch in Bengal. The laudatory reference to King Yasaskara appearing in the original work (Schiti XXXII), which is not found in the *Y. V. Sāra*, has to be explained in this light. Like the reference to Saṅkaravarman (c. 900) in his father's *Nyāyamañjarī*, who contrasted badly with the next king Cakravarman (c. 925) that was instrumental in imprisoning Jayantabhaṭṭa and who is stigmatised in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (v. 391), Abhinanda's reference to Yasaskara brings in to relief the evil traits in his successors, tyrants and rogues, made kings by *ḍamaras*, which drove this family of Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas back to their old land of Bengal, where Abhinanda was given a right royal welcome. It appears from historical and literary evidence that Abhinanda flourished in and about 975 A.C. and might have come back to his ancestral home about 1000 A.C. where even during the declining days of Pāla rule there was a patron king in the person of Yuvarājadeva panegyrised as Haravarṣa Mahīpāla I (c. 985-1025) because of his munificent gifts to poets and scholars. I am not sure whether we can go so far as to date the *Y. V.* after 1028 A.C. as the late Mm. H. P. Sastri suggests in his preface (Oct. 1928) to the *Des. Cat. of Mss. in the A. S. B.*, vol. V, for the reference to the invasion is unproved (vide fn. 2, p. 554 *Proc. A.I.O. Con. Madras*, 1924). The generally accepted dating of Abhinanda (9th century A.C.) is based on the calculation of Bühler, relying on the account in the *K. K. S.* (I. 5-12). Other evidences go against this—it is just likely that some intervening ancestors of Abhinanda are left out. Even if the account follows an

¹¹ These verses appear generally at the end as in the case of the unitary verses of the *Naiṣadha-carita*, less commonly at the beginning, an unwelcome phenomenon. They can be assessed at their proper value if one remains content with thinking them to be the appreciative verses by readers and scribes who have chosen to remain anonymous.

authentic text, we shall have to re-adjust it as in the case of the divergent ancestry given by Bānabhaṭṭa himself in the *Harṣacarita* and in the *Kādambarī*. The description of the author of the *R. C.* as Śātānandi has cost a good deal of flutter in the nest of scholars. We have two submissions to make. The first is that this is based on verses which presumably are not by the author himself. They are just to be treated as a fair estimate of the poet's achievements and must not be deemed as exactly precise. Moreover this is one amongst many verses repeated in two other places but not found in all mss. Even if this be regarded as authoritative, Śātānandi might have been another descriptive epithet of the logician who passed as Jayanta, which name was a very popular name in Kashmir (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* III. 366). Śātānanda and the description *kṛtajanānanda* (*K.K.S.* I. 10) are near each other in phonology. The father had a literary frame of mind evident from his poignant prose and verse, an independent and reliable judgment (vide p. 248, vol. I. Ch. S. Series, 1936), a finely critical literary taste as is evident by his being enamoured of Kālidāsa and Bāṇa (*ibid.*, pp. 216-17) the two idolised poets of his son too, who speaks eulogisingly of his father's *sarasa*, *sadālaṃkāra*, *prasādamadhura* composition, exactly the very achievement of the poet himself.

Such was Abhinanda, the heir of a noble tradition filled with nobler projects and ideas about reshaping of things and themes. The student of Indology has been well reconciled to the poetic writer's encroaching on his credulity and posing as Valmiki the Ādi Kavi, for whom the writer had profound and sincere reverence. Later indigenous scholars like Advayāranya were callous to this fact but generous enough to give to the poet the credit of his being the author of the *Sāroddhāra*. The modern scholar would fain like a still shorter synopsis than is provided to him in the *Y. V. Sāra*.¹² so as to have greater interest aroused in a work which has lain unexplored because of its cumbrousness in size and clumsiness in treatment. The interaction of this work on the later Upaniṣads like the *Mahāmuktika*, *Ārṣeya*, *Tejobindu* and *Annapūrṇa* that became fashionable amongst certain sections of intelligentia in the late mediaeval age, requires a sifting investigation if only to give to the *Y. V.* its rightful dues.

SIVA PRASAD BHATTACHARYA

¹² I.e. the *Sāroddhāra* or *Samgraha*. The *Y.V. Sāra*-as-known in 227 verses is a different treatise, shorter but more inadequate.

MISCELLANY

Notes on Ladakhi History

I

The early history of Ladakh

In the earliest times, as far back as we can go, Ladakh was not a Tibetan country; the information and documents relating to it are mostly connected with Indo-European populations. Not till the 8th century do we have any evidence of Tibetan inroads into what is now Indian Tibet. In earlier times the connections of Ladakh were with the south-west and with the north, never with the east. The population of Ladakh at the dawn of its history was composed of the Dardis, of whom some remains are still to be found in the country. Besides, from a certain point of view we can say that Ladakh is Tibetan on the surface only, because the ethnical substrata of the people is unmistakably Dardi, and because the local toponymy is still largely a Dardi one. Thus for the earliest times we may infer that any reference to the Dardis stands a good chance of covering Ladakh too.

Herodotos twice mentions a Dadikai people, first (III, 91) along with the Gandarioi in the list of Persian satrapies, and again (VII, 66) in the catalogue of Xerxes's forces invading Greece, brigading them with the Gandarioi under the same commandant. The Dadikai are never again mentioned in classical literature. From their name as well as from their vicinity to Gandhara it stands to reason that we have here the first mention of the Dards; whether their territory in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. extended to Ladakh, we have no means to know. In the later Greek and Latin authors the name is written Dardæ or Derdai.

Again in Herodotos (III, 102) we find the first mention of the famous tale of the gold-digging ants in Innermost Asia. On this much discussed legend there is a whole literature. The latest and most exhaustive treatment of the question is by Herrmann,¹ who brings strong evidence to prove that the tale ultimately goes back to a knowledge of the gold-washings in Ladakh and Baltistan (chiefly at

¹ *Das Land der Seide und Tibet im Lichte der Antike*, Leipzig 1938, pp. 10-16.

Kargil). Later Greek travellers to India (Nearkhos and Megasthenes) invariably connect the gold-winning in this region with the Dardis. The historical importance of this tale lies in that it allows us to admit with a fair degree of certainty the presence of Dards in Ladakh several centuries B.C.

Ptolemy gives us two names, which are usually connected with Ladakh, or at any rate with Western Tibet: the Dabasai and the Byltai. I am afraid we shall have to give up these connections. As I have already shown elsewhere,² there is no question of the Dabasai of Ptolemy being a transcription of the Central Tibetan province of dbUs or having anything to do with Ladakh. But this unhappy suggestion, originated by Cunningham and popularized by Francke, still works much harm. Thus Herrmann is so thoroughly convinced of the equivalence Dabasai=dbUs, that he feels compelled by it to identify the upper course of the Daonas river with the Tsangpo (pp. 60-61), although he had already identified the Tsangpo with Ptolemy's Bautisos (p. 59). As he is further led to recognize the lower course of the Daonas in the Tenasserim river (pp. 75-76), poor Ptolemy is saddled with the responsibility of a real geographical madness. This is a crude example of what can happen if one accepts as proved and definite identifications on mere casual similarities of sound in words belonging to widely separated times and civilizations.

The other name in Ptolemy which is usually connected with Western Tibet is that of the Byltai, currently identified with the Baltis. But both the word Byltai and its identification with the Baltis are doubtful. Marquart gives some good reasons for correcting Ptolemy's BYATAI in BAYTAI, the Sanskrit Bhautṭa, Tibetan Bod, i.e. Central Tibet. He rightly points out that the name Balti does not occur till fairly recent times.³ We may perhaps have its first mention in the name sBal-āt'i found in a document (probably of the 8th century) from Mazar Tagh in Chinese Turkestan;⁴ but this is more than doubtful. Its first clear occurrence is in the *Deb-t'er-*

² *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta 1939, p. 98.

³ Marquart, *Webröt und Arang*, Leyden 1938, p. 110.

⁴ Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, vol. I, London 1935, p. 151 n.

snion-po of 1476 (vol. *Na*, f. 119b); we have there a *mK'an-po* *sBal-ti*, living about the beginning of the 13th century and obviously identical with *sBal-ti dGra-bcom* (1129-1215) of the *Re'u-mig*.⁵

Thus of all the classical names which have been connected with Ladakh, only *Dadikai*, *Dardai*, *Dardā*, i.e. the *Dardis*, remain as fairly well established.⁶

The famous *Khalatse* inscription of *Uvima Kavthisa* remains till now the earliest record found in Ladakh. It bears a date, the year 184 or 187. The determination of this date involves the solution of the much discussed problem in early Indian history, that of *Kushan* chronology, which cannot be discussed here. In any case the date may be safely taken to belong to the 2nd century A.D. As to the inscription itself, it seems to be no longer extant.⁷

Of other *Brāhmī* and *Kharoṣṭhī* inscriptions in Ladakh we still have only the short and unscholarly notice by *Francke*, of 40 years ago.⁸ A *Sogdian* inscription from *Drangtse* was studied by *F. W. K. Müller*⁹ and by *Benveniste*;¹⁰ but it goes only to prove that *Sogdian*-speaking merchants reached Ladakh; this is not at all surprising, as we know of the brisk traffic over the northern passes in bygone times.

About Ladakh, the *Buddhist Chinese* pilgrims have little to say. *Fa-hsien* was once believed to have passed through Ladakh on his way to India; but after the conclusive discussion by *Sven Hedin* and *Herrmann*¹¹ this opinion can no longer be maintained, and we know that *Fa-hsien* passed much farther to the west and did not touch nor mention Ladakh at all.

Hsüan-chuang did not go to Ladakh. He seems to mention it

5 *Sarat Chandra Das*, *The life of Sum-pa-mk'an-po*, in *IASB* 1889.

6 In the 4th century A.D. we find the name *Darada* in the geographical lists of the *Purāṇas* (see *D. C. Sircar*, 'Text of Puranic list of peoples,' in *IHQ*, 1945, p. 303) and of other *Sanskrit* works. But the texts do not allow us to specify whether this name covered Ladakh too.

7 In 1930 and 1931 Professor *Tucci* vainly searched for it; probably it had been blown up during the work on the *Khalatse* bridge. *Tucci*, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. I, Rome 1932, p. 52 n.

8 *Historische Dokumente von Khalatse*, in *ZDMG* 1907, p. 593.

9 *Eine soghdische Inschrift in Ladakh*, in *SBPAW* 1925, pp. 371-372.

10 *Notes sogdiennes*, in *BSOS* IX (1937/9), pp. 502-505.

11 *Southern Tibet*, vol. VIII, Stockholm 1922, pp. 23-33.

under the names Mo-lo-so and San-po-ho;¹² but he does not give any description.

Huei Ch'ao travelled back from India to Turkestan in 727. He has a hazy knowledge of Ladakh, which he seems to include in Great Po-lu (Baltistan) :

From Kashmir to the North-East, separated from it by 15 days of march through the mountains, lie the kingdoms of Great Po-lu, Yang-t'ung and Nepal. These three kingdoms are under the suzerainty of the Tibetans. The clothing, language and customs are completely different... The country is narrow and small, and the mountain and valleys very rugged. There are monasteries and monks and the people honour faithfully the *triratna*. As to the kingdom of Tibet to the east, there are no monasteries at all, and Buddha's teaching is not known; but in the (three above mentioned) countries the population consists of Hu, therefore they are believers¹³.

Broadly speaking, this account fits very well with what we know of the conditions in the upper valley of the Indus in the 8th century. The region was under Tibetan suzerainty, but its population was mostly Dardi and wholly non-Tibetan. The land was Buddhist, having been converted from Kashmir, while Tibet proper was still to all practical purposes Bon-po (Huei Ch'ao's testimony is precious on this account). As for the statement that the population consisted of Hu, for the 8th century this term would strictly apply to the Iranians. But its use is rather loose, and as also Nepal is covered by it, it here probably applies generally to the Indo-European populations of Northern India, as opposed to the Tibetans; it would fit perfectly well the Dardis.

¹² Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, pp. 178 and 199. Waters, *On Yüan-chuang*, vol. I, pp. 299 and 330. If Hsüan-chuang's Suvarnagotra or Kingdom of the Women is to be located in Hunza-Nagar, as maintained by Thomas (*Tibetan Literary Texts*, pp. 152-153), then San-po-ho, which is to the west of it, cannot be Ladakh. But a Chinese gloss in Hsüan-chuang's text explicitly identifies San-po-ho with Mo-lo-so, which latter is almost certainly Ladakh. Thomas's contention is therefore open to doubt.

¹³ Fuchs, Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nord-West Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726, in *SBPAW* 1938, p. 443.

There would be another possibility of finding Ladakh mentioned by a later Chinese pilgrim. Chi-ye journeyed in India at the beginning of the Sung dynasty, and shortly after 966 he went back from Magadha

to Mo-yu-li; then he passed the Snowy Mountains and arrived at the monastery of San-ye. Then he came back by the old route to Chiaï-chou

and hence to China.¹⁴ Herrmann proposed to identify Mo-yu-li with Mar-yul, i.e. Ladakh, and San-ye with one of the Buddhist monasteries in Ladakh.¹⁵ Chavannes, following Wright's *History of Nepal*, identifies Mo-yu-li with a land Mayūrato bordering on Nepal and Tibet.¹⁶ I am not in a position to say anything about Mo-yu-li, except that it is clear from the context that it is a sub-Himalayan country. San-ye is clearly a transcription of the name of the great Central Tibetan monastery of bSam-yas (pron. Samye).¹⁷ It is evident that Chi-ye returned home through Tibet and had nothing to do with Ladakh.

As to the early relations of Ladakh with Central Tibet, their political and ethnical aspects have been dealt with in my *Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*. On the religious relations the available material is scanty. Ladakh was for a long time under the religious influence of Kashmir, for which we have epigraphic evidence (Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions at Khalatse, *Yedharma* formula in later Gupta characters near Drangtse). As has been known for some time, some Nestorian crosses are found carved on rocks and boulders, chiefly at Drangtse;¹⁸ but these early relics of Christianity are evidently the work of travelling merchants from Central Asia.

Ladakh was probably conquered for the Tibetan Church by Rin-c'en-bzañ-po. In Ladakh itself he seems to have founded only one monastery, that of Myar-ma;¹⁹ but his activity in Guge, Spiti

14 Huber, L'itinéraire du pèlerin Ki-ye dans l'Inde, in *BEFEO.*, 1902, p. 259.

15 Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vol. VIII, p. 64 n.

16 Notes Sinologiques, in *BEFEO* 1904, p. 81.

17 Laufer, 'Bird Divination among the Tibetans', in *T'oung Pao*, XV (1914), p. 87 n.

18 Francke, Felseninschriften in Ladakh, in *SBPAW* 1925, pp. 366-370.

19 Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. II, Rome 1933, p. 64. "Can be safely identified with the ruins near Ranbirpur, in the neighbourhood of Tikse."

and Kunawar was so energetic and fruitful, that we can safely attribute to him the presence among the disciples of Atiśa (d. 1054) of a man from Ladakh, called Mar-yul-pa dKon-mc'og-brtsegs.²⁰ As this is an initiation-name, it is impossible to determine whether this man was a Dardi or a Tibetan.

II .

Chronology of the second dynasty of Ladakh

The second dynasty of Ladakh has been rather unlucky in its chronological determination. Francke in his various works²¹ did not use any other source except the *LdGR*, which is practically without dates. He therefore allowed an average of thirty years for each ruler, building up a fictitious chronology suitable only as a provisional arrangement for working purposes. In my *Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh* I contributed some new elements culled from the Muslim historians of India; it was not much, but the few sur dates thus gained supplied a welcome anchor point in this uncharted sea. Now I think that the time has come for reviewing the whole problem again in the light of the Central Tibetan and Chinese sources. These texts were explored by me while working on my forthcoming book *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, and have yielded some unexpected results.

The chronology of the first dynasty (10th-16th century) must remain for the moment a blank. We have only the bare list of kings in the *LdGR* with no synchronisms, except the questionable one given by the dubious equivalence rGyal-bu Rin-c'en of the *LdGR*—Riñcana Bhoṭṭa of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.²² Only for the last two rulers two vague chronological indications are available. G r a g s - a b u m - l d e received an envoy of the great Tibetan reformer gTson-k'a-pa (1357-1419); in order to commemorate the event, he erected the still extant dGe-lug-pa monastery of dPe-t'ub.²³ About his successor B l o

²⁰ *Deb-t'er-snon-po*, vol. Ia, f. 2a.

²¹ *History of Western Tibet*, London n.d. (1907). *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. II, Calcutta 1926 (contains text and translation of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*; will be quoted by the abbreviation *LdGR*).

²² Cfr. the discussion in *Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, pp. 112-113.

²³ *LdGR*, p. 100.

g r o s - m c o g - l d a n, we know from the *Vaidurya-ser-po* of Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o (f. 224a) that he sent rich presents to the first Dalai-Lama dGe-ādun-grub (1391-1474). I think therefore that the approximate dates ca. 1410-1440 and ca. 1440-1470, proposed in my *Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, cannot be far wrong.

For the first three kings of the second dynasty (Bhagan ca. 1470-1500, bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal ca. 1500-1535, Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal ca. 1535-1575) I have nothing to add to what I wrote in 1939.

Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal was followed by his younger brothers rNam-rgyal-mgon-po and aJam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal, and then by the latter's son Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal. Of the last three rulers the following dates are known:

(a) rN a m - r g y a l - m g o n - p o is not mentioned as king in the *LdGR*. In the Domkhar inscription²⁴ he is found as a colleague of aJam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal; the sentence here is badly constructed but on careful consideration I take this to be the meaning. The Jesuit brother Bento de Goes, in a letter written from Yarkand on the 2nd February 1604 and preserved in Fr. Fernão Guerreiro's collection of Jesuit letters, states that he found at Yarkand

a. captive king of Tabete, who had been captured by a trick and brought there three years previously. His name was Gombuna Miguel²⁵.

This name, more correctly read Gombu Namiguel, evidently corresponds to mGon-po-rnam-rgyal, the rNam-rgyal-mgon-po of the chronicle. His capture by the Yarkandis therefore goes back to 1600-1.

(b) aJ a m - d b y a ṅ s - r n a m - r g y a l was contemporary with the Balti chief Ali Mir of Skardo, whose dates known to us from the Moghul sources range from 1591 to 1603. His first wife Ts'e-rin-rgyal-mo was the daughter of aJig-rten-dbañ-p'yug, king of Guge, who is mentioned in 1540²⁶ and 1555²⁷ by Central Tibetan texts.

24 Francke, *Second Collection of Tibetan Historical Inscriptions on Rock and Stone from Western Tibet*, Leh 1907, n. 103.

25 Guerreiro, *Relaçam annual etc.* (for the years 1606 and 1607), Lisbon 1609, f. 167b. Translated in Payne, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, London 1930, p. 148.

26 *Vaidurya-ser-po*, f. 160b.

27 Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949, p. 254.

(c) For *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal* we have a series of dates. The first is probably 1602. In the great Hemis inscription published (with some mistakes) by E.v. Schlagintweit²⁸ the building of the monastery is stated to have lasted from 1602 to 1642. The *LdGR* (p.109) says that Hemis was built by the lama *sTag-ts'an-ras-pa* in the reign of *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal*. It is rather uncertain whether *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal* was actually on the throne when Hemis was begun, but I take this to be the case. Otherwise the first sure date is 1614, when *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal* declared war on Guge;²⁹ this is evidently the first campaign against the back-steppes of Guge, launched when the king was still a youth.³⁰ The date of his death had been lately discovered by Tucci: the funeral ceremonies for *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal* were performed in Lhasa during the New Year's festival of 1646.³¹ The king had died therefore in the preceding year.

We can now determine these reigns as follows. *rNam-rgyal-mgon-po* and *aJam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal* reigned together *ca.* 1575-1600. *rNam-rgyal-mgon-po* was nominally associated to the throne (as it appears from the inscription), but for some reason his share was not effective and he is not included in the list of the *LdGR*. *Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal* reigned *ca.* 1600-1645.

Of *bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal* we have the mention in the Moghul sources. I ask for the reader's indulgence for inserting here a small digression. When in my *Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, pp. 151-153, I related the events leading to the submission of Ladakh to the Moghuls, I was led astray by the faulty chronology of Bernier. The time of Aurangzeb's journey to Kashmir was 1663 and not 1665 as Bernier would have it.³² Thus the sequence of the events was the following: in 1663 the Ladakhi king *bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal*, uneasy about the presence of Aurangzeb in Kashmir, sent him an embassy to promise loyalty and tribute; the embassy was met and described by

²⁸ *Buddhism in Tibet*, Leipzig-London 1863, pp. 183-188.

²⁹ Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, The Hague, 1924, pp. 74-75.

³⁰ *LdGR*, p. 108.

³¹ Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 256 (from the *Life of the Fifth Dalai-Lama Blo-bzang-rgya-mts'o*, f. 132a).

³² On this see Sarker, *History of Aurangzeb*, II, 14 and V, 420, as against Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 425.

Bernier. When the emperor left Kashmir, bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal quite naturally thought himself justified in copying the behaviour of Senge-rnam-rgyal after 1639 and in ignoring once more the Moghul claims. But Aurangzeb was not to be trifled with; in the following year he sent to Ladakh the mission of Muhammad Shafi, which is related at length in the *Alamgir-nama* and which obtained the complete submission of the king. The official news of the success of the mission reached the imperial court on the 11th Jumāda ul-Ākhira 1075 A.H., i.e. 30th December (New Style) 1664 A.D.³³

On bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal we have also the doubtful dates of 1673 and 1674 in the *LdGR*. I may also note that all the Central Tibetan and Moghul sources, as well as Cunningham's Ladakhi source, would make this king reigning at the time of the Ladakhi-Tibetan-Moghul war of 1681-1683. But as I have already had occasion to say, the document of Śākya-rgya-mts'o published by Francke in the 2nd volume of *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* is decisive on this point, and we must place the war under bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal's successor.³⁴ bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal may have reigned 1645 c.a. 1675.

His son bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal is consistently ignored in all our sources except the *LdGR* and the document of Śākya-rgya-mts'o. Worse than this, we have inscriptions in which he is mentioned as heir-apparent together with king bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, but there is no single inscription of him as king. But as Ladakhi epigraphy

33 This date is given by the *Alamgir-nama*, p. 923. Sarkar, *Op. cit.*, has it twice wrongly: in III, 18 as 1665 and in V, 421 as 1666. It may also be noted that the author is under the wrong impression that the account of the Moghul chronicle refers to Central Tibet and that Daldan (-namjal) of the *Alamgir-nama* corresponds to Dalai(Lama). The account of Ladakh given by the *Alamgir-nama* is exactly as follows (pp. 922-923):

Great Tibet extends for six months of travel in length and 1-2 months in breadth. It borders to the west on Kashmir, Kamaon, Srinagar (Garhwal), Bihar and Bengal; to the east on Urzang (dbUs-gTsañ) and Khitā-(China); to the north on Little Tibet, Kashgar and the frontier of Moghulistan; to the south on the desert plains of Qipchāq (*sic*). Its ruler can muster an army of 12,000 horse and foot. The greater part of the state servants belong to the Qara Qalmāq clan.

This last statement, as well as the confused description of the border may perhaps be the result of some confusion between Ladakh and Tibet proper.

34 Cfr. my article 'The Tibetan-Ladakhi-Moghul War of 1681-1683,' in *IHQ.*, 1947, pp. 189-190.

is still in its infancy and has made no progress since Francke's modest beginnings forty years ago, we can draw no conclusion from this argument *ex-silentio*. As the first date of his successor is 1702, we may assume bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal to have reigned c. a. 1675 - c. a. 1700.

The first date of king Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal is that of the Khalatse manuscript decree published by Francke,³⁵ viz. 29th day of the 8th month of 1702. We have also the Hanu inscription of the Bird year,³⁶ which may be 1705 or 1717. The Jesuit Father Desideri was received by the king in 1717. It was Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal who also opened for the first time relations with China, through the medium of K'ai-c'en-nas,³⁷ president of the Tibetan council of ministers from 1721 to 1727. In 1723 two envoys of the Ladakhi king were received at the court of the Seventh Dalai-Lama Blo-bzañ-bskal-bzañ-rgya-mts'o (1707-1757).³⁸ They were on their way to China, and indeed their arrival to Peking is duly registered in the official collection of documents of the Manchu dynasty under the date *i-wei* of the 6th month of the 2nd year of Yung-cheng, i.e. August 11th, 1724.³⁹ This is the last date we have of Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, and he seems to have retired shortly afterwards, when his son was appointed king. We may take him therefore to have reigned c. a. 1700 - c. a. 1725.

Of bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal, son of Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal from the first marriage, we have the date of accession to the throne (*k'rir-k'od*) preserved in the contemporary document of Ts'ul-k'rims-

35 Archæology in Western Tibet, in *IA* 1906, pp. 237-241, doc. E.

36 Francke, *First collection of Tibetan historical inscriptions etc.*, Leh 1906, n. 69.

37 Called also in the Central Tibetan texts by the Mongol title of Daicing Batur; he is the sDe-ac'in Bhadur of the document of Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje, in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 233.

38 *Life of the Seventh Dalai-Lama* (rGyal-bai-dbañ-po-t'ams-cad-mk'yen-gzigs - rdo - rje - ac'an - blo - bzañ - bskal - bzañ - rgya - mts'oi - žal - sna - nas - kyi - rnam - par - t'ar - pa - mdo - tsam - brjod - pa - dpag - bsam - rin - po - c'ei - sñe - ma. Written in 1758/9 by the lCañ-skya Khutuktu), f. 97b.

39 This collection, the *Ta-ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu*, was published in 1937 by the Manchoukuo government on the Mukden palace-manuscript. The document in question is found in *Shih-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 21, f. 19b.

rdo-rje as 1734.⁴⁰ The document is above suspicion and its other dates are shown true by checking with contemporary Central Tibetan events. Nevertheless this date is opposed by weighty evidence. According to the same document, bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal married in 1729 a princess of Guge; in the *LdGR* she is called Ñi-zla-dbañ-mo of Lho-mon-sdañ. In the same year (2nd day of the 6th month) "Ni-zla-dbañ-mo, wife of the king of Ladakh" visited the Tashi Lama at Tashilhunpo;⁴¹ probably it was a pious visit after the betrothal and before she left for her new home. Thus in 1729 bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal was already king of Ladakh. Should there be any doubt on this score, the Chinese sources are decisive. In 1732 bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal sent to the Chinese court a communication through the Tibetan authorities in Lhasa. This document deserves to be translated in full.

Day *chi-mao* of the 3rd month of the 10th year of Yung-chêng (April 16th, 1732). Rescript to the Khan of La-ta-k'o (Ladakh), Tê-chung-na-mu-cha-êrh (bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal). We govern all the world. The outer and inner regions we consider as a single body. Once pacified, we feel compassion for the distant peoples, we incite them with praise if they are respectful, we punish them if they are contumacious. For all of them, it is our prerogative to be concerned with their affairs. You, Tê-chung-na-mu-cha-êrh, have sent envoys and have addressed a memorial to the Chinese residents who govern Tibet, saying as follows: "I dedicate myself to taking care of the affairs of the state; I follow the noble religion of the Buddha and I husband my strength in order to fulfil duties exceeding mine. I am trying to obtain information about Yê-êrh-ch'i-mu (Yarkand),⁴² which is a region belonging to the Dsungars."⁴³ I

⁴⁰ *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 234.

⁴¹ *Autobiography of the Second Tashi-Lama Blo-bzai-ye-śes* (1663-1737) (Śākyai - dge - sloñ - blo - bzai - ye - śes - kyi - spyod - ts'ul - gsal - bar - byed - pa - nor - dkar - can - gyi - p'reñ - ba), f. 376b.

⁴² This is not the usual Chinese form, but a transliteration of a Ladakhi vernacular form such as Yer-k'yim, or something like this.

⁴³ The Mongol people who about this time dominated Central Asia and opposed strenuously the Chinese till their final defeat in 1757. See Courant, *L'Asie Centrale au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Lyon 1912.

have informed Beile P'o-lo-nai,⁴⁴ so that he may forward this memorial. I beg that a gracious rescript may be issued to me soon". We have considered these words and We praise them highly. As already before now your father Ni-ma-na-mu-châr (Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal) and K'ang-ch'i-nai⁴⁵ in full agreement were exchanging favours, We have copiously rewarded them. Now be zealous in full accord with Beile P'o-lo-nai and be very diligent. Also henceforward try ever more to continue in your precious virtues; then you shall enjoy Our favour forever. Now specially We extend to you Our favour, and We present you with such objects as pieces of velvet etc.; do accept them with due reverence.—The above rescript was issued.⁴⁶

bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal was thus reigning in 1729 and 1732. But perhaps the contradiction may be solved by a passage of the *LdGR*, which states that after bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal was appointed king, the state officials, council of elders and the people having sent in a request that bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal (bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal's half-brother) should be ordained and become a lama, or else reside at gTñ-sgañ palace, the father Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal once more turned king of faith.....Soon, through the persuasion of the queen mother, bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal was appointed to rule from the Po-t'og pass over all Purig.

The course of events seems to have been as follows: bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal was appointed king before 1729, his father retiring in his favour. But then his half brother (or rather the latter's mother) put forward pretensions, endangering the security of the state. The old king resumed the reins of government, as a superior colleague, his son continuing as an associate king. This happened probably in 1733 (after bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal's message to China in 1732 and before his final coronation). Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal satisfied his younger son by the cession of Purig, which became a separate kingdom with the capital at Mulbhe. After a year the old king either finally retired or died, and bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal remained sole king.

44 This is the famous bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas of P'o-lha, called also Mi-dbañ, ruler (in 1740 *wang* or "king") of Tibet from 1728 to his death in 1747. Beile is a high Manchu title.

45 K'añ-c'en-nas, on whom see above n. 37.

46 *Shib-tsung Shib-lu*, ch. 116, f. 14a-b.

Another mission of bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal to China is recorded under the day *ping-hsü* of the 12th month of the 2nd year of Ch'ien-lung, i.e. January 27th, 1738; the Ladakhi king Te-chung-na-mu-cha-êrh was sending information about the movements of the Dsungars, and some presents.⁴⁷ The year of the death of the king is known from Central Tibetan sources: in the second half of 1739 the queen Bu-k'rid-dbañ-mo and her son brought to Lhasa funeral offerings for the deceased bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal.⁴⁸ He must have died at the beginning of the year. bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal may thus be accepted to have reigned c. a. 1725-1739; in 1733-1734 he shared the throne with his father.

bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal was succeeded by his son P'uñ-t's'o g-s-rnam-rgyal. The first years of this king were disturbed by a dispute with his uncle bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal of Purig. According to the *LdGR*, the quarrel was settled by the great incarnate of bKa-t'og, Ts'e-dbañ-nor-bu. This is fully confirmed by the Central Tibetan sources, which give us some more interesting particulars. At the root of the trouble there were the sons of "minister Ts'ul-k'rims", i.e. of Ts'ul-k'rims-rdo-rje, the faithful old general of bDe-skyoñ-rnam-rgyal; they can be identified with the ministers of Zañs-dkar and of Grañs-dkar of the *LdGR*. In 1751 the Dalai-Lama sent them a message inviting them to remain at peace.⁴⁹ This was useless, and at the end of the year the Dalai-Lama received a request of the Ladakhi grandees to send them either the K'a-t'ag-pa (bKa-t'ag-pa of the *LdGR*) or the aBrug-pa incarnate to act as peace-maker. The Dalai-Lama selected the K'a-t'ag-pa, who happened to pass through Lhasa on his way from K'ams to Nepal, to go to Ladakh for this purpose⁵⁰. The mediation of the K'a-t'ag-pa incarnate must therefore have taken place in 1752. He decided the introduction of primogeniture as the order of succession in Ladakh. Zanskar was recognized as a separate kingdom under P'uñ-t's'o g-s-rnam-rgyal's second son Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal. Pu-rig was already an independent state and was not included in the award, although its ruler bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal was present at the negotiations. The incarnate went then to Nepal, where he died in 1756⁵¹.

47 *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 62, ff. 4b-5a.

48 *Life of the Seventh Dalai-Lama*, f. 259a.

49 *Ibid.*, f. 396b.

50 *Ibid.*, f. 404a.

51 *Ibid.*, f. 506b.

In these years Ladakh had again come in the limelight at the Chinese court because of the attempts at intrigue by the Dsungars. As I have treated the subject in detail in my forthcoming work *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, a mere abstract may suffice here. In 1750 a Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, the successor of P'o-lha-nas as "King" of Tibet, had plotted with the Dsungars for the expulsion of the Chinese from Tibet. The conspiracy was nipped in the bud by the devotion of the Chinese residents Fucing and Labdon, who, at the cost of their own lives, succeeded in killing a Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal. The Dsungars, forestalled by the Chinese and unable to invade Tibet by the direct route, cast their eyes upon Ladakh. On the day *i-hai* of the 2nd month of the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (March 4th, 1751), news reached Peking that according to a letter of the king of Ladakh (no name given) received in Lhasa, Dsungar merchants reaching Ladakh from Yarkand were making enquiries about the Dalai-Lama, the Tashi-Lama, and generally about conditions in Tibet⁵². On *i-hai* of the 11th month (September 29th) of the same year, the king of Ladakh reported that he had been interviewed by Dsungar envoys, who questioned him about conditions in Tibet and begged him to give them some lamas for their temples,—a standing request of the Dsungars to Chinese and Tibetans alike for the last twenty years⁵³. But the Chinese in the meantime had taken such heavy military precautions in western Tibet, that the Dsungars did not follow up their feelers.

During the New Year's festival of 1754, an envoy of the king of Ladakh was present in Lhasa; but the king was no longer P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal because this festival witnessed the funeral ceremonies in honour of the "deceased father of the kings of La-dvags and Zansmk'ar"⁵⁴. P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal had evidently died in the previous year. His dates are therefore 1739-1753.

We may collect here some information about three members of the royal family who played a great part in this period. We have repeated-

52. Kao-tsung Shib-lu, ch. 382, ff. 9a-10a.

53. *Ibid.*, ch. 402, f. 12a-b.

54. *Life of the Seventh Dalai-Lama*, ff. 436a-b, 438b. The envoys had audiences with the Tashi-Lama at Tashilhunpo on the 11/X/1753 and 8/I/1754. *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama Blo-bzan-dpal-ldan-ye-śes* (1738-1780) (rje-bla-ma-srid-ñi-gtsug-rgyan-paṅ-c'en-t'ams-cad-mk'yen-pa-blo-bzan-dpal-ldan-ye-śes-dpal-bzan-poi-ñal-sna-nas-kyi-rnam-par-i-ar-pa), ff. 118a, 119b.

ly met with bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal, king of Purig since 1734. In 1740 he sent envoys to Lhasa⁵⁵. He was still on the throne at the beginning of 1754, when his minister Ga-ga bsTan-adsin was received by the Dalai-Lama⁵⁶ and by the Tashi-Lama⁵⁷. He died during the reign of Ts'e-dban-rnam-rgyal, apparently childless, and his kingdom was reunited with Ladakh⁵⁸.

King P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal had ceded Zanskar to his second son [Mi-ajigs-Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal. He was already on the throne in 1745, when he sent a letter to P'o-lha-nas giving him information about the commercial traffic between Ladakh and Yarkand; we gather from the letter that Dsungar merchants from Yarkand used to come to Ladakh every year. The letter was forwarded by P'o-lha-nas to Peking, where it was received on the day *i-bai* of the 11th month of the 10th year of Ch'ien-lung, i.e. November 30th, 1745⁵⁹. The Chinese give to Ts'e-pu-teng-na-mu-cha-êrh (Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal) the title of king of Ladakh, and perhaps he was at this time associated to the throne with his father. According to a notice in the Chinese text *Tung-bua-lu*, Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal in 1747 was massacred with all his family by the Dsungars⁶⁰. This document is not included in the *Shih-lu* and there is no mention of the fact in the Ladakhi sources; the information it conveys is certainly wrong because Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal was definitely alive in 1752 (award of the K'a-t'ag-pa incarnate) and probably so in 1754 (embassy to Lhasa).

bDe-skyon-rnam-rgyal's eldest son Sa-skyon-rnam-rgyal had been made (by a trickery of his brother P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal) a lama in the Hemis monastery. He was perhaps the "son of the king of Ladakh, *sprul-sku* (incarnate) of Hemis", who went to Lhasa in 1739, accompanying his mother to the funeral rites of bDe-skyon-rnam-rgyal⁶¹. He went to Tashilhunpo a second time, when on the 15th day of the 9th month of 1745 he was received by the Tashi-Lama⁶².

P'un-ts'ogs-rnam-rgyal was succeeded by his eldest son Ts'e-dban-rnam-rgyal. Very little is known about him, and relations

55 *Life of the Seventh Dalai-Lama*, f. 267a.

56 *Ibid.*, ff. 434b, 436a.

57 *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, ff. 119b-120a.

58 *LdGR*, p. 122.

59 *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 252, ff. 18a-20b.

60 Courant, *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

61 *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 21b. *Life of the Seventh Dalai-Lama*, f. 259a.

62 *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 59a.

with Central Tibet slackened during the second half of the century, while relations with China ceased altogether⁶³. We do not know the reason for this change on the Ladakhi side. For the Chinese, such an out-of-the-way country as Ladakh had lost every interest from the moment when the Dsungars disappeared from the politics of Central Asia; it was only actual or possible interference by the Dsungars in Ladakh which had drawn the attention of the Chinese towards that land. Religious relations with Lhasa and Tashilhunpo lasted for some years more. We know from Tibetan sources that messengers of Bu-k'rid-dpal-adsin, the wife of the ruler of Ladakh, were received at Tashilhunpo in 1757⁶⁴. This evidently refers to the princess of bZan-la, the king's first wife. Again envoys of the ruler (*sa-skyon*) of Ladakh were received at Tashilhunpo on the 16th day of the 12th month of the year Earth-Hare, i.e. in January 1760.⁶⁵ In the 6th month of 1764 a Ladakhi embassy reached Lhasa; it brought the presents of the queen of Ladakh, the A-yum rGyal-mo (a title meaning mother queen), on the occasion of her accession to the throne⁶⁶. She is identical with the Begum dBaṅ-mo who was married to Ts'e-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal after the expulsion of his second wife, the low-caste Bhe-mo-rgyal, by the ministers and the nobles. In the second half of 1768 the minister (*blon-po*) of the ruler of Ladakh, No-no dBaṅ-rgyal, arrived at Lhasa accompanying rJe-btsun bsTan-adsin-bu-k'rid, who is evidently the princess who was taken to Tibet as wife of a Hor-k'aṅ-gsar⁶⁷; they were given the blessing of the Dalai-Lama⁶⁸. The minister then went to Tashilhunpo, where on the 11th day of the 7th month he was received by the Tashi-Lama⁶⁹. He is identical with the all-powerful minister dBaṅ-rgyal of rGya, mentioned

63 According to the *Tung-bua-lu*, in the 1st month of 1760 "Ladakh despatched a gratulatory mission, and was allowed to continue its trade according to ancient regulations." Courant, *Op. cit.*, p. 129n. The document is missing in the *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*.

64 *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 135b.

65 *Ibid.*, f. 179a.

66 *Life of the Eighth Dalai-Lama Blo-bzan-hjam-dpal-rgya-mts'o* (1758-1804) (rGyal - bai - dbaṅ - po - t'ams - cad - mk'yen - gzigs - c'en - po - rje - btsun - blo - bzan - bstan - pai - dbaṅ - p'yug - hjam - dpal - rgya - mts'o - dpal - bzān - poi - žal - sna - nas - kyi - rnam - par - t'ar - pa - mdo - tsam - brjod - pa - hdsam - gliṅ - t'a - gru - yaṅs - pai - rgyan), f. 36a.

67 *LdGR*, p. 122.

68 *Life of the Eighth Dalai-Lama*, f. 59b.

69 *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 277a.

in the treaty of Wamle partly published by Francke⁷⁰. In none of these notices the name of the ruler is given; they speak only of the La-dvags Sa-skyon, the ruler of Ladakh. Thus for want of better evidence we may take Ts'e-dbañ-mam-rgyal to have reigned the usual average of 25 years, viz. 1753 - c. a. 1780.

His younger brother sKyabs-mgon rGyal-sras Mi-p'am-ts'e-dbañ-p'rin-las became a Lama at Hemis. He maintained a lively intercourse of a purely religious nature with Tashilhunpo. On the 15th day of the 7th month of 1764 he, together with his younger brother, was received at Tashilhunpo; he is styled the *k'mi-pa* (abbot) of He-mi-dgon. On the 1st day of the 9th month he paid his parting visit to the Tashi-Lama and left for Ladakh⁷¹. This is of course the same mission which brought to Lhasa the presents on behalf of the new queen (see above). The younger son remained at Tashilhunpo, where he became a monk with the name of Blo-bzang-blam-süs⁷². He is the prince mentioned in the *LdGR* (p. 122) as being very clever in medicine and having gone to Central Tibet. He was ordained on the 8th day of the 1st month of 1766⁷³. In the 7th month of 1767 the abbot of Hemis was again in Lhasa, and on the 5th day of the 10th month he was received at Tashilhunpo⁷⁴; this time our text calls him by his personal name Mi-p'am. He had brought with him 30 novices from Hemis, who were ordained in a solemn ceremony on the 12th day of the 2nd month of 1768⁷⁵. On the 18th day of the 10th month of 1769, and on New Year's day of 1770 he himself was ordained with 30 novices⁷⁶. It seems thus that he came regularly to Tashilhunpo every second year, leading a batch of novices for ordination there. It is of course rather strange that the abbot of a *abtrag-pa* monastery should seek ordination in the great centre of the *dGe-lug-pa* and should bring there his novices, but the fact is well established.

There was another No-no (prince) "son of the ruler of Ladakh".

70 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 227.

71 *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, II, 226a, 227a-b.

72 *Ibid.*, I, 227b.

73 *Ibid.*, I, 227a.

74 *Life of the Eighth Dalai-Lama*, I, 48b. *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, I, 246b.

75 *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, I, 273a. Another 30 novices from Ladakh had been ordained in 1766; *op. cit.*, I, 266b.

76 *Ibid.*, II, 266b, 266c.

who came to Tashilhunpo in 1774 and was given the monastic name of Blo-bzan-bkra-sis⁷⁷. It is difficult to identify him. He cannot be the youngest brother of Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal mentioned above, because the name-giving ceremony could not be performed twice over on the same person. We may hazard the guess that he is to be identified with aJigs-med-rnam-rgyal, the youngest son of Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal by a secondary wife, who had become a lama at K'ri-rtse⁷⁸. The date certainly seems a bit early (his elder brother Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal died only in 1841!); perhaps the novice was still a mere stripling.

The treasurer (p'yag-mdsod) dbU-rgyan of Hemis was received at Tashilhunpo on the 2nd day of the 10th month of 1776.⁷⁹ He was unconnected with the royal family. Thus the relations between Tashilhunpo and Hemis were very close during the last years of the Third Tashi-Lama.

Ts'e-dbañ-rnam-rgyal was succeeded by his elder son Ts'e-b r t a n - r n a m - r g y a l, while the younger Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal became a lama at Hemis. We have no dates for Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal and we know only from the *LdGR* that he died after a short reign at the age of 24. He may have reigned about 1780-1790, probably less than this. Perhaps it was during this reign that the annual envoy (lo-p'yag-pa) of Ladakh is mentioned as having arrived at Lhasa in 1785⁸⁰. But relations with Central Tibet nearly ceased at this time, and for the remaining years of the 18th century no mention of Ladakh is found in the Central Tibetan texts.

Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal was succeeded by his brother Ts'e-d p a l - r n a m - r g y a l, the lama of Hemis, who had to return to lay state on the childless death of his brother. We have several dates of him, from the *LdGR*, from documents and inscriptions. The dates in the *LdGR* (p. 126) are so obviously wrong that it is better to disregard them altogether. The document on the services of bSod-nam-bstan-adsin published by Francke⁸¹ has several dates; but although it was issued by king Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal, it is difficult to know whether the earliest dates fall under his rule. Assuming that

77 *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, ff. 352a, 362a, 363b.

78 *LdGR*, p. 123.

79 *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 372a.

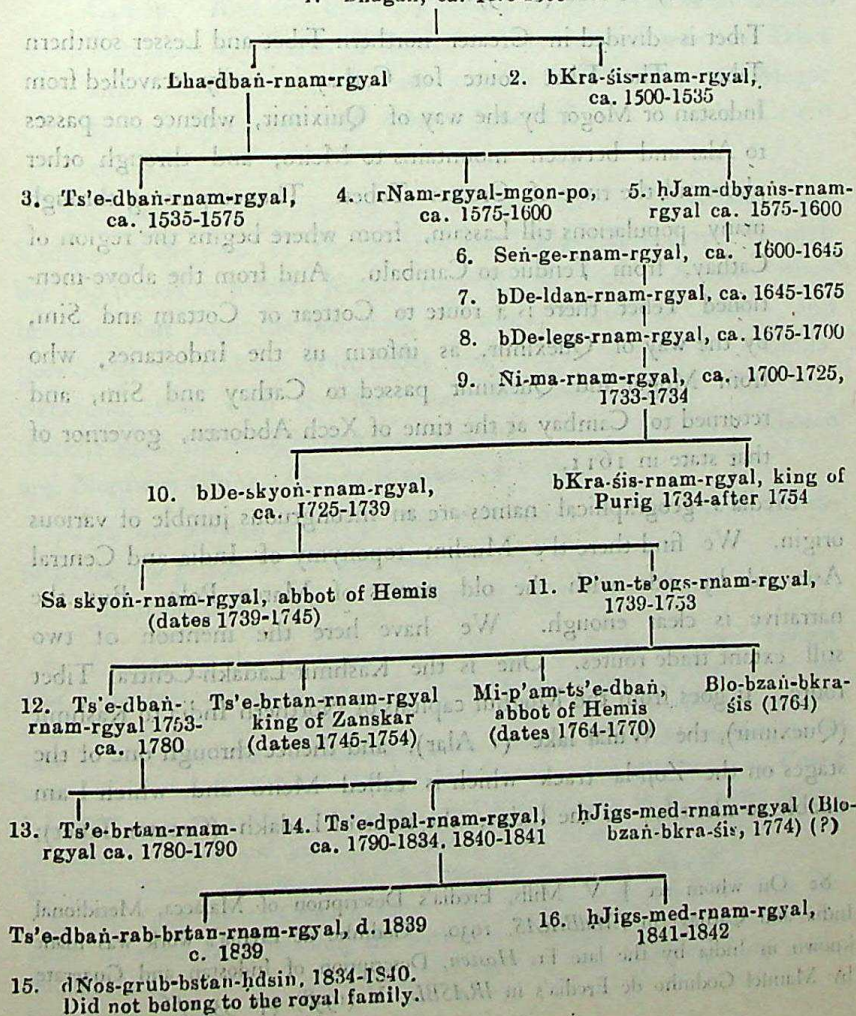
80 *Life of the Eighth Dalai-Lama*, f. 151a.

81 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 236-241.

such is the case, the first year mentioned is 1792. The rest of the tale is too well known to be repeated here. Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal reigned ca. 1790-1834, when he was deposed by the Dogras, and again 1840-1841 when he died. The minister dNos-grub-bstan-adsin, a puppet of the Dogras, was on the throne 1835-1840, and aJigs-med-rnam-rgyal, son of the old king, 1841-1842. The kingdom of Ladakh then ceased to exist, being annexed by the Dogras of Jammu state.

REVISED GENEALOGY OF THE SECOND DYNASTY OF LADAKH

1. Bhagan, ca. 1470-1500



III

The trade-route from Kashmir through Ladakh to Turkestan

Since the days of Diogo d'Almeida, who as the first European visited Ladakh about 1600, the trade-route Kashmir-Ladakh-Turkestan was well known to the Portuguese, not directly but through the accounts of the Indian merchants reaching the ports of the West coast from the interior. A detailed, but also very confused, account of this trade route was given by Manuel Godinho de Eredia⁸². In his *Declaração de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay* of 1613, edited in facsimile and translated in French by Léon Janssen (Bruxelles 1882) we read (f. 65):

Tibet is divided in Greater northern Tibet and Lesser southern Tibet. The Tibet route for Cathay is easily travelled from Indostan or Mogor by the way of Quiximir, whence one passes to Alar and between mountains to Meiro, and through other places till the river of Greater Tebet. Thence passing through many populations till Lassam, from where begins the region of Cathay, from Tenduc to Cambalu. And from the above-mentioned Tebet there is a route to Cottear or Cottam and Sim, by the way of Queximir, as inform us the Indostanes, who from Mogor and Queximir passed to Cathay and Sim, and returned to Cambay at the time of Xech Abdoræn, governor of that state in 1611.

Eredia's geographical names are an incongruous jumble of various origin. We find there the Muslim toponymy of India and Central Asia side by side with the old names of Marco Polo. But the narrative is clear enough. We have here the mention of two still extant trade routes. One is the Kashmir-Ladakh-Central Tibet route. It goes from the Moghul capitals of Northern India to Kashmir (Queximir), the Wular lake (? Alar), and thence through one of the stages on the Zoji-la track which is called Meiro and which I am unable to identify, to the Indus, the river of Ladakh (Greater Tibet);

82 On whom see J. V. Mills, Eredia's Description of Malacca, Meridional India and Cathay, in *JMalBrRAS*, 1930. Godinho de Eredia's work was made known in India by the late Fr. Hosten, Description of Indostan and Guzerate by Manuel Godinho de Eredia's in *JRASBL*, IV (1938), pp. 533-566.

then along the Indus and the Tsangpo to Lhasa⁸³ and thence by the Kukunor-Hsining route to Northern China, which is indicated by the names of Tenduc (modern Northern Suiyuan), Cambalu (Peking) and Cathay, taken from Marco Polo. The second route, about which Eredia is rather confuse, branches off from the first in Ladakh and leads through the northern passes to Khotan (Cottar or Cottam) and thence by the route south of the Takla-Makan desert to China; Sim is of course Sin, the Arabic-Persian name of China.

Eredia then goes on to say:

Formerly the route to Cathay was through Turcastan and the desert of Lop, whence they passed to Tangut and hence to Cathay. And also there is a route through the above-mentioned Turcastan and Cascar or Carcan or Hircande and hence to Tebet and to Cathay; but the easy route is from Indostan or Mogor through Queximir and hence through Tebet, Aranda, Cottan to Cathay.

The first route seems to go through Kabul, Badakhshan and Kashgar by the road to the north of the Takla-Makan desert through the Lop region to modern Kansu (Tangut) and China. Another route branches out from the preceding at Kashgar (Cascar or Carcan) and goes hence to Yarkand (Hircande) and either to Tibet or to China, coinciding thus with the first route described above⁸⁴. The easy route is again the straight one from Kashmir through Ladakh to Khotan and Northern China; Aranda is unknown to me.

This was written in 1613. But even earlier, in 1611 in his *Descu-rasso sobre a provincia do Indostan*, he had written:

And by this Kingdom of Queximir there lies a frequented road,

83 I wonder whether the importance of this passage has been properly realized. This is the first mention of the name Lhasa by an European author. I am not aware that there is any mention of it before 1613. The name Gota in the relation of Fr. Odorico da Pordenone (who was never in Tibet) has nothing to do with Lhasa. See Laufer, Was Odoric da Pordenone ever in Tibet? in *T'oung Pao* XV (1914), p. 418 n. Besides, the word is found only in the French edition of Odoric's relation and has rightly been omitted in the critical edition of Fr. Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. I (Quaracchi 1929), pp. 484-486.

84 To Tibet and to China is theoretically possible, but useless for trade purposes. It would mean following the terrible track straight from Khotan to Lhasa through Nag-ts'an, which was hardly ever used by traders, and then the Lhasa-Sining route.

between the mountain ridges of Tebeth, to go to Cathay or Cata; and continuing by the same road from Thebeth, in an east-south-east direction, they discovered the new kingdom of Sim⁸⁵.

Here again we have the two routes Kashmir-Ladakh-Sinkiang-Northern China and Kashmir-Ladakh-Central Tibet-China. Eredia then goes on to give a description of the "new kingdom of Sim, which was discovered through his industry by means of pilgrims who went from Indostan to Sim and returned to Cambay". It seems to me that this Sim is not a part of Tibet, as suggested by Fr. Hosten, but one of the north-western provinces of China (Kansu or Szechwan). Eredia must have misunderstood the account given him by his informants; in the mouth of a trader coming from Central Asia, Sim can only be China and nothing else. The great and unfortunate Bento de Goes had given some years before the final proof of the identity of Cathay with China, but it took some time to convince of this the Europeans living in the East; and for Eredia Sin and Cathay are still two different countries.

The trade routes through Ladakh are mentioned also by some of the European travellers to India of the early 17th century⁸⁶, but nobody is by far so detailed as Godinho d'Eredia.

At the other end of the journey, the Ladakh trade route was well known on the Chinese frontier, in the large commercial towns of Kansu. In 1627 the Jesuit Father John Adam Schall von Bell, missionary in China, wrote to a relation of the General of his order, basing himself on the information about the Central Asian trade given to him by the leader of a great Muhammiadah caravan from Tufan. The caravan leader said that

he had heard about Tibet (in fact, there were some Tibetans

⁸⁵ Ed. by Hosten in *JRASBL* IV (1938), p. 557. The equivalent of the words "to go to Catay.....road from Tebeth" is missing in the Portuguese text. As they cannot be a willful insertion by such a conscientious scholar as the late Fr. Hosten was, the printer's devil must have been at work here.

⁸⁶ Foremost among them William Finch (1610) in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* IV, 52. He denies however the practicability of regular caravan trade on this route.

in Su-chou), and that there is a route for that region from Agra through Cabul, Candahar, Kesimur and Suret⁸⁷.

Kesimur is Kashmir, and Suret should perhaps be corrected into Suget, the important pass on the track from the Karakorum pass to Fort Shahid-Ullah and thence to Yarkand. But Kabul, and above all Kandahar, have nothing to do here. The information is very confused, whether the errors lies with the Muslim caravan leader or with Fr. Schall von Bell.

It is thus certain that the trade routes through Kashmir and Ladakh (and thus the Ladakhi trade and prosperity) had become well-known at the beginning of the 17th century, so that even the Europeans, both in India and in China, knew them fairly well, although only by hearsay (with the solitary exception of D'Almeida). This traffic lasted till the inconclusive invasion of Ladakh by the troops of Shah Jahan in 1639. After the withdrawal of the Moghuls, the king of Ladakh "not only interdicted the passage of caravans, but forbade any persons from Kashmir to enter his dominions⁸⁸". King Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal's shortsighted measure spelt the doom for this important route and effectively contributed to the economic decadence of Ladakh.

The peace which followed the Tibetan-Ladakhi-Moghul war of 1681-1683 reopened the traffic between Ladakh and Kashmir, but under strict regulations and limitations, managed and controlled by the governments concerned. The trade between Ladakh and Sinkiang became again pretty brisk in the first half of the 18th century, as we know from the Chinese sources. But it decayed again with the fall of the Dsungar dominion in the Tarim basin and the Chinese conquest in 1759. The traffic seems to have been limited to Ladakh, which served as an entrepôt, the caravans not going through to Kashmir. In any case this trade never regained the importance it had enjoyed at the beginning of the 17th century.

LUCIANO PETECH

⁸⁷ Edited by Fr. P. D'Elia, Carovane di mercanti-ambasciatori dalla Siria alla Cina attraverso l'Asia Centrale nel 1627, in *Studia Missionalia*, I (1943), pp. 322 and 343. *Studia Missionalia* is the periodical on mission studies published by the Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana in Rome.

⁸⁸ Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire*, ed. Constable, Westminster 1914, p. 427.

The Mokṣa-Prakāśa of the Vīramitrodaya

The Vīramitrodaya of Mitrāmīśra is a well known encyclopædia of Dharmaśāstra, being particularly of high authority in the Benares school of Hindu law. In the words of Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane, this Nibandha is probably the largest known with the exception of the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* of Hemādri. A full account of this work has been given by me in a paper in the Adyar Library Bulletin. As mentioned there, the work consists of twenty-two Prakāśas, namely (1) Paribhāṣā, (2) Saṁskāra, (3) Āhnikā, (4) Pūjā, (5) Pratiṣṭhā, (6) Rājadharmā, (7) Vyavahāra, (8) Śuddhi, (9) Śrāddha, (10) Tīrtha, (11) Dāna, (12) Vrata, (13) Samaya, (14) Jyotiṣa, (15) Śānti, (16) Karmavipākā, (17) Cikitsā, (18) Prāyaścitta, (19) Prakīrṇaka, (20) Lakṣaṇa, (21) Bhakti, (22) Mokṣa.

I have also mentioned in the above article that the Prakāśas of Pratiṣṭhā, Śuddhi, Śrāddha, Dāna, Vrata, Samaya, Śānti, Prāyaścitta and Bhakti, which are so far unknown to scholars, are available in the Anup Sanskrit Library. To these nine sections I have now to add the Mokṣaparakāśa of which, too, a MS. has been found recently in the Library. Here is a description of it.

Paper 382 folios. Size 11" × 4¼". 8 lines in a page and 40 syllables in a line of bold and large Devanāgarī. The borders are ruled with double lines. Red pigment is used to mark quotations. The corners are slightly injured. The first folio is missing. On the last page there is this endorsement:

नरसिंहदीक्षितानां पुस्तकं मौल्येन गृहीतम् । श्रीमद्गुर्गदास प्रभुवर्यैः शुभं ॥

Although it is essentially a part of a Dharmaśāstranibandha, the Mokṣa-prakāśa by itself is a work of great importance to students of Indian philosophy, containing as it does a large collection of philosophical materials from the Vedic literature, the Epics and the Purāṇas and its systematic interpretation in accordance with Advaita. The main topics dealt with are

मोक्षस्वरूपप्रतिपादनं, वानप्रस्थविधिः, वानप्रस्थधर्मः, संन्यासाश्रमः, यतिधर्माः, यति-संस्काराः, वैराग्यहेतवः, तत्पदार्थनिरूपणं, जगत्सृष्टिः, त्वंपदार्थनिरूपणं, तत्-त्वं-पदार्थाभेदरूप-महावाक्यार्थः, प्रपञ्चमिथ्यात्वनिरूपणं, मोक्षोपायः, योगप्रकरणं, ज्ञानि (स्थितप्रज्ञ) लक्षणं, जीवन्मुक्तिः, चित्तवृत्तिधारणा and अचिरादिगतिः ।

Begins :

... ... शिवमाश्रयामि ।

या ह्यक्षराख्ये शिव एष नित्यं प्रतिष्ठिताधिष्ठितकर्मवृन्दे ।

रहः सदानन्दधनोत्तमाज्ञां तयोमयीं तां चितिशक्तिमोडे ।

ईश्वरार्पणपीयूषसेकेन सुकृतद्रुमः ।

बिभर्ति यत्फलं मुख्यं मोक्षाख्यं तन्निरूप्यते ॥

तल वक्ष्यमाणार्थप्रतिपत्तिसौकर्याय मोक्षप्रस्तावना । मार्कण्डेयपुराणे—

अहमित्यङ्कुरोत्पन्नो ममेति स्कन्धवान्महान् ।

गृहक्षेत्रादिशाखश्च पुत्रदारादिपञ्चवः ॥

धनधान्यमहापलोऽनेककालप्रवर्धितः ।

पुण्यापुण्यप्रसूनश्च सुखासुखमहाफलः ॥

अपवर्गपथव्यापी मूढसंपर्कमेचनः ।

विधित्साशृङ्गमालाढ्यो हृदि जातो महातरुः ॥

संसाराध्वपरिश्रान्ता ये तच्छायामुपाश्रिताः ।

भ्रान्तिज्ञानसुखाधीनास्तेषामाल्यन्तिकं कुतः ॥

यैस्तु सत्संगपाषाणसितेन स महातरुः ।

छिन्नोऽविद्याकुठारेण ते गतास्तेन वर्त्मना ॥

प्राप्य ब्रह्मानं शीतं नीरजस्कमकरठकम् ।

Ends : उक्तं गीतायाम्—

शुक्लकृष्णे गती ह्येते जगतः शाश्वते मते ।

एकया यात्यनावृत्तिमन्यथावर्तते पुनः ॥

नैते सृती पार्थ जानन् योगी मुह्यति कश्चन ।

तस्मात्सर्वेषु कालेषु योगयुक्तो भवार्जुन ॥

शुक्लाचिरादिगतिः ज्ञानप्रकाशमयत्वात् । कृष्णा धूमादिगतिः ज्ञानहीनत्वेन तमोमय-
 त्वात् । एकया शुक्लानावृत्तिं याति । अन्यथा कृष्णया पुनरावर्तते । एते सृती शुक्लकृष्णे ॥
 इति गतिप्रकरणम् ॥ इति मोक्षकाण्डं समाप्तम् ॥ Colophon at the end of वैराग्यहेनु-
 प्रकरण (fol. 157a): इति श्रीमत्सकलसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिमरीचिमञ्जरी नीराजितचरण-
 कमल-श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजप्रतापरुद्रतनूज-श्रीमहाराजमधुकरसाहसूनु-चतुरुदधिवलय-वसुधरा-
 हृदय-पुराणरीकविकासदिनकरश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीवीरमिहदेवोजितश्रीहंस-पण्डितात्मज-
 श्रीपरशुराममिश्रसूनु-सकलविद्यापारावारपारीणधुरीणजगद्धारिणमहागज-पारीन्द्रविद्वज्जनजीवानु-
 श्रीमन्मित्रमिश्रकृते वीरमितोदयाभिधनिबन्धे मोक्षप्रकाशे वैराग्य हेतवः ॥

The Valabhī Era

The inscriptions of the Maitraka kings of Valabhī are dated 'saṃvat 183' to 'saṃvat 447' of an unspecified era, which is identified with the Valabhī era mentioned in the later inscriptions of Surāṣṭra. These later inscriptions are dated 'saṃvat 500' to 'saṃvat 945' of the Valabhī era. Thus the Valabhī era was in vogue in Surāṣṭra for a pretty long period of about eight centuries.

The epoch of the Valabhī era falls 241 years later than that of the Śaka era, according to a statement in Alberūnī's "India." This is corroborated by the Verawal inscription (1264 A.C.) of Arjunadeva, which equates the Valabhī year 945 with the (Kārtikādi) Vikrama year 1320. Further instances for the acceptance of this epoch are supplied by the following inscriptions: (1) the Dewali copper-edict of Govinda III¹ is dated Valabhī 500, which must agree with his other known dates such as Śaka 730 and 749; (2) the Una copper-edict of the time of Mahendrapāla is dated Valabhī 574, which must approximate Vikrama 756, the date of the other Una grant of his time; and (3) the Junagadh stone-inscription of Kumārapāla is dated Valabhī 850, which must range about Vikrama 1202-1228 of his other inscriptions. From this evidence it follows that the epoch of the Valabhī era falls 241 years later than that of the Śaka era, i.e., 376 years later than that of the (Caitrādi) Vikrama era.

As regards the scheme of the years and months of the Valabhī era, Fleet contends that it generally followed the northern scheme of Caitrādi years with Pūrṇimānta months, the cases of the southern scheme being exceptional.² However the question requires to be re-examined with a view to arrive at some more satisfactory solution, if possible.

The dates in the Maitraka inscriptions do not include the week-day, which would have been a very important factor for determining the exact scheme of the Valabhī era. A few dates, however, afford the clue through two other factors, viz., eclipse and intercalation:

1. The Bantia copper-edict of Dharasena II records a solar eclipse (sūryoparāga) in the Vaiśākha of (Valabhī) saṃvat 254. So there must have been a solar eclipse in the Vaiśākha of 573 A.C. or thereabout.

¹ These plates were recently discovered in the Bhavnagar State; for the contents of the edict cf. *Bhavnagar Samachar*, vol. V, p. 24.

² Cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, Introduction.

Pillai's Tables mention no solar eclipse in the (Amānta) Vaiśākha of 572, 573 or 574 A.C. The year 573 A.C., however, had a solar eclipse in the Pūrṇimānta Vaiśākha, given as (Amānta) Caitra. This instance shows that the month of the Valabhī era was Pūrṇimānta.

2. The Kaira copper-edict of Dharasena IV records 'second Mārgaśīra' in (Valabhī) samvat 330. So Mārgaśīra must have been intercalated in 649 A.C. or thereabout. But the months Mārgaśīra and Pauṣa could hardly be intercalated in the present system of true intercalation, as the lunar months are generally longer than the corresponding solar months in winter. It was only in the old system of mean intercalation that any months could be intercalated, as the mean lunar month is shorter than the mean solar month in all seasons. The intercalation of Mārgaśīra, therefore, shows that the almanacs of Valabhī followed the system of mean intercalation. The Tables³ of mean intercalation, however, mention intercalary Pauṣa (and not Mārgaśīra) in 648 A.C. But the difference of one month does not matter in this case, as it can be explained by the other system of naming lunar months. An intercalary month that is named Pauṣa after the succeeding month according to the current Mīnādi rule would be named Mārgaśīra after the preceding month according to the old Meṣādi rule. Thus the Valabhī year 330 corresponds to 648 A.C. in Mārgaśīra.

3. The Vala copper-edict of Śīlāditya III records 'second Āṣāḍha' in (Valabhī) samvat 343. So there must have been an intercalation of Āṣāḍha in 662 A.C. or thereabout. The Tables of mean intercalation mention intercalary Śrāvaṇa in 662 A.C., which may be named Āṣāḍha according to the old Meṣādi rule. Thus the Valabhī year 343 corresponds to 662 A.C. in Āṣāḍha.

4. The Jesar copper-edict of Śīlāditya III records 'second Pauṣa' in (Valabhī) Samvat 357. The intercalation of Pauṣa gives further evidence for the use of mean intercalation in the Valabhī kingdom. In the Tables of mean intercalation this Pauṣa corresponds to intercalary Māgha of 675 A.C. Thus the Valabhī year 357 corresponds to 675 A.C. in Pauṣa.

These results may be tabulated along with the corresponding (Caitrādi) Śaka years as well as the Kārtikādi Vikrama years as follows:

No.	Valabhī year.	Month.	Saka year (Caitrādi)	Vikrama year (Kārtikādi)	Christian year
1	254	Vaiśākha	495	629	573
2	330	Mārgaśira	570	705	648
3	343	Āṣāḍha	584	718	662
4	357	Pauṣa	597	732	675

A study of these tables evidently shows that the difference between the Valabhī years and the corresponding Kārtikādi Vikrama years is 375 throughout, whereas the difference between the Valabhī years and the (Caitrādi) Śaka years corresponding to them is 240 in Mārgaśira and Pauṣa, and 241 in Vaiśākha and Āṣāḍha. This leads us to the conclusion that the years of the Valabhī era are Kārtikādi, not Caitrādi. Thus the Valabhī era has Kārtikādi years coupled with Pūrṇimānta months.⁴

For the sake of verification the above result may be put to the test of the post-Maitraka inscriptions as well. (1) The Dewali copper-edict of Govinda III records a solar eclipse in the Valabhī year 500, the month being not specified. Pillai's Tables mention two solar eclipses in the Kārtikādi year corresponding to Śaka 740-41, one in Pauṣa and the other in Āṣāḍha. (2) The Verawal image inscription of the Valabhī year 927 corresponds Monday to the second day of the bright half of Phālguna. The date refers to Śaka 1167 and conforms to the Kārtikādi system of years. (3) The Verawal inscription of Arjunadeva is dated Sunday, the 13th day of the dark half of Āṣāḍha of the Valabhī year 945. The day corresponds to the 25th of May, 1264 A.C. The concomitant mention of the Hijra year 662 makes it certain that the year is Kārtikādi, while the absence of reference to the intercalation of Āṣāḍha means that the month is Pūrṇimānta.⁵ Thus these instances corroborate the above conclusion that the Valabhī era followed the scheme of Kārtikādi years with Pūrṇimānta months.

Alberuni's statement, therefore, requires slight modification in respect of the exact epoch of the Valabhī era. The epoch of the Valabhī era

4 Fleet assumed that the Kārtikādi year cannot be coupled with Pūrṇimānta months and that the Caitrādi year cannot be coupled with the Amānta months. (CII, III, Intro. pp. 73 ff.). But the above results go against the first clause of the assumption, while the second clause does not hold good against the actual practice in the Deccan, where the Śaka era has the system of Caitrādi years coupled with Amānta months.

5 Cf. Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff.

must be now reckoned, not complete 241 years, but 240 years and 7 months later than that of the Śaka era, i.e., complete 375 years later than that of the Kārtikādi Vikrama year. The first year of the Valabhī era, which would have corresponded to the period from the 9th March, 319 A.C. to the 25th February, 320 A.C. according to the Caitrādi scheme, really corresponds to the period from the 12th October, 318 A.C. to the 30th September, 319 A.C. according to the Kārtikādi scheme. Therefore the difference between the Valabhī years and the corresponding Christian years is 318 from Kārtika to December, and 319 from January to Āśvina. Thus the equation for the first year of the Valabhī era is 318-19 A.C. and not 319-20 A.C.

As regards the origin of the Valabhī era, it is quite definite that it cannot be assigned to any of that Valabhī kings themselves, since even the first ruler Bhaṭārka cannot be dated at the time of its commencement. His sons reigned as late as *circa* saṃvat 235 of the Valabhī era.⁶ So the Maitrakas must have adopted some era that was already current at the time of the rise of their power. From Alberuni's statement it seems to be identical with the Gupta era (known as Gupta-kāla). The use of the Gupta era in Surāṣṭra may be traced to the Junagadh rock inscription of Skandagupta, the Ghumli copper edicts of the Saindhavas and the Morvi grant of Jaika II. These are all assigned to the epoch 319-20 A.C. according to the original Caitrādi scheme of the Gupta era. A concrete evidence for the Caitrādi scheme is supplied by the Ghumli copper-edict of Agguka II, in which the Gupta year 513 corresponds to the Christian year 832 A.C. even in the early period before the end of December.⁷ This result is also corroborated by the Morvi copper-edict, which records a Solar eclipse in the Gupta year 585. A solar eclipse can be traced to this year only when it is taken to be Caitrādi (904-05 A.C.) and not when it is reckoned as Kārtikādi (903-04 A.C.). Thus the 'Gupta-kāla' followed the northern system of Caitrādi years. The use of this era must have been introduced into Surāṣṭra by the viceroys of the Gupta empire of Magadha. The era seems to have undergone modification in the system of its years soon after the decline of the Gupta power in Surāṣṭra. It is this modified era that received the new nomenclature 'Valabhī era.'

6 The reign of the last son is to be dated somewhere between 'Saṃvat 226 and 'Saṃvat 240.'

7 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, p. 19.

while the original era known as 'Gupta-kāla' retained its original nomenclature even when it was reintroduced into Western Surāṣṭra by the Saindhavas. Thus the 'Valabhī era' is a significant term denoting a modified system of the Gupta era, and not a mere verbal synonym for the original term 'Gupta-kāla'. The name 'Valabhī' evidently suggests that the modified system must have been adopted and propagated by the Valabhī kingdom. In short the Valabhī era means the Gupta era with the modified system of Kārtikādi years adopted by the Valabhī kingdom of Surāṣṭra.

HARIPRASAD G. SHASTRI

A Note on the Date of the Satraps of Mathurā

Numismatists usually describe the coins of Hagāna and Hagāmāṣa (both those issued jointly by them and those issued alone by Hagāmāṣa) before those of Rañjuvula. In the *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*, pp. 183-85, Allan assigns the issues of Hagāmāṣa to c. 50-40 B. C. and those of Rañjuvula to c. 40-20 B.C. while the joint issues of Hagāna and Hagāmāṣa are placed between the above two classes (Cf. also Rapson, *C.H.I.*, I, pp. 527, 538; Smith, *Cat.*, pp. 190, 195). Apparently however the joint issues of Hagāna and Hagāmāṣa should have been described earlier than the coins issued by Hagāmāṣa alone. This is no doubt suggested by the mention of Hagāna before Hagāmāṣa in the coin-legend: *khatapāna hagānasa hagāmāṣasa*, indicating that Hagāna was the senior partner in the combination.

Another interesting fact, to which I draw the attention of scholars in this connection, is that Rañjuvula was apparently the earliest known Scythian ruler of Mathurā and was certainly earlier than Hagāna and Hagāmāṣa. This is definitely indicated by his coins. Without entering into details, I am quoting a passage from a chapter that I contributed some years back to the *History of India* to be published by the Bhāratiya-Itihāsa-Samiti of Bombay: "Rañjuvula's earlier coins bear legends in Greek and Kharoṣṭhī; but his later issues have legends only in Brāhmī which was the script prevalent in Mathurā. His son Soṇḍāsa as well as the other Kṣatrapas of Mathurā (including Hagāna and Hagāmāṣa) used

Brāhmī only in their coin legends. The facts that Rañjuvula's coins were found in the Panjab and the western parts of the United Provinces and that his commonest type is copied from the coins of Strato I and II, while his rarest issues are imitated from the local rulers of Mathurā show that the Saka chief, who seems to have been a semi-independent general of Maues (Moga), established himself in Mathurā late in life."

As regards the date of Rañjuvula, it may be pointed out that I am inclined to identify the older of the two eras, used by the Scytho-Parthians and Kusāṇas, with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. and to believe that year 72 of that era, in which Śoṇḍāsa's inscription is dated, corresponds to 15 A.D. In my *Select Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 112, I have assigned Rañjuvula to c. 1-15 A.D. and his son Śoṇḍāsa to c. 10-25 A.D. It has also been suggested that this era started from the accession of Vonones, founder of an independent kingdom in East Iran about the middle of the first century B.C., and was carried to India by Maues (circa 25 B.C.-25 A.D.).

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

REVIEWS

EARLY INDIAN CULTURE. The Indian Research Institute Popular Series. Monograph No. 1. By Bimala Churn Law. Calcutta 1948.

ANCIENT INDIA (6th century B.C.). By Bimala Churn Law. The Indian Research Institute Popular Series. Monograph No. 2. Calcutta 1948.

These two latest productions from the indefatigable pen of Dr. Law fittingly inaugurate a series of popular monographs belonging to the vast domain of Ancient Indian history and culture. Written in a clear style, they condense into a remarkably small compass an immense amount of information culled with exemplary industry from the vast literature of the original sources. They are bound, as such, to be of great help to those for whom they are intended. Useful bibliographies and indices are attached to each volume.

The first volume consists of nine sections with the titles Prehistoric, Vedic (really R̥gvedic), Brahmanic (really concerned with the later Vedic Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas, and older Upanishads), Pre-Maurya, Maurya, Śuṅga, Scythian, Gupta, Later Mediaeval (dealing with Northern India from Harṣa's time downwards), Andhra and Dravidian. In the second volume there are five sections bearing the titles Geographical position, Kings and peoples, Social and economic life, Religion and culture. When a second edition will be called for, the author will be well advised in adding a section on Hindu colonial and cultural expansion to the first volume and giving a more elastic time-limit as the sub-title of the second one. He will also do well to revise his description (Early Indian Culture, p. 18) of Mathura art as Indo-Scythian and Amaravati art as Indo-Roman and to notice the somewhat conflicting statements about the diet of the Vedic Indians (Early Indian Culture, p. 5) and the Indian institution of slavery (Ancient India, p. 22).

We congratulate the learned author on making such a good start in what promises to be a very useful series.

RGVEDA-SAMHITĀ with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya. Vol. IV Maṇḍala 9-10. Published by the Vaidika-Saṃsodhana-Maṇḍala (Vedic Research Institute), Poona, 1945. (Rs. 25 -).

The publication of the present volume completes very successfully the stupendous work undertaken eighteen years before its date (1945). It is highly gratifying to note that this magnificent work was carried on under the auspices of the Vidyapith named after the great patriot and scholar the late B. G. Tilak. No better memorial could possibly be thought of for this eminent son of India who literally dedicated his life to the service of the land of his birth.

To come to the merit of the work under review it may be said that it together with its sister volumes will be considered very useful by the students of the Vedic philology. In spite of the fact that the R̥gveda has been most thoroughly studied by competent western scholars, this very ancient work may not be said to have yielded all its secrets. Hence it was said by a veteran scholar that "the complete translation of the R̥gveda must of necessity contain much that is incorrect." Though it would be rash to deny the truth of this assertion, without undervaluing in any way the contribution of the western scholars it can be said that there may yet be found means to improve upon the translation of individual passages, and such improvement may occasionally throw unexpected light on the history of India's very ancient culture. This gives ample justification to a fresh critical edition of Sāyaṇa's great work on the R̥gveda. Now after Maxmüller's second edition of the R̥gveda-bhāṣya has long been out of print the present edition will be greatly welcome to persons interested in the Vedic studies. As will be evident from the account of the new mss. consulted as well as the imposing array of correct or more satisfactory variants recorded by them, the editors seem to have done their work with the greatest possible care and caution. Though the present text of the Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya does not materially differ from that of Maxmüller, its has its value to the scholar who will make a detailed study of its individual passages. The editors have pointed out such cases in their introduction (e.g. p. 14 f. of the present volume). The printing of a consolidated critical edition of all the Khila hymns discovered up till now, has added to the value of the present edition of the R̥gveda. Scattered in different works including romanised foreign publications some of them were not easily accessible to scholars of this country. The editors have not merely printed

at the end of the present volume the Khila hymns, but utilised most carefully all the materials (including mss.) that they could procure, to make some textual improvement of the same. The various notes and a brief but informative introduction added to these Khilas have made them really very useful.

Besides all these features, the general introduction to the present volume describes in detail the various mss. utilised for editing Sāyaṇa's work and discusses their relative values. In it the editors have corrected what seems to have been an erroneous conclusion of Maxmüller who divided his mss. into three classes A, B and C representing respectively Benares, Bombay-Poona and Calcutta (Bengal) traditions. It has been shown some years ago that the Vedic studies were never pursued in Bengal with the same zeal as was the case in some other parts of India (vide Introduction to *Guṇa-viṣṇu's Mantra-bhāṣya* by D. M. Bhattacharya). Hence it is likely that Bengal developed no independent tradition of R̥gveda-bhāṣya texts. The editors seem to have shown conclusively that C and A classes of Maxmüller's mss. have no material difference, and thus the both can be more reasonably assigned to the Benares tradition.

Considering all these aspects the present edition of the Sāyaṇa bhāṣya of the R̥gveda can be considered to be the most remarkable Vedic publication of recent years. The learned editors Messrs. N. S. Sontakke and C. G. Kashikar as well as the Vaidika-Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala who inaugurated the work can rightly feel proud of their achievement. It may be hoped that they will continue re-editing the remaining Vedic works (Brāhmaṇas and the various Sūtra texts) with or without commentaries and the generous public who have love for their ancient culture will not allow their efforts languish for want of adequate funds.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Ancient India (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), No. 4

- V. GORDON CHILDE.—*Megaliths*. 'Megalithic' (stone) monuments found in India, Iran, the Caucasus and in the lands bordering upon the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic sometimes indicate an interrelationship. The present paper deals with 'the international problems' of their 'classification and distribution'.
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Schools of Buddhism in Early Indian Inscriptions*

The immediate disciples and followers of Buddha were unanimous in their acceptance of the *fundamental* ideas formulated by him. But differences were soon to rise in the Saṅgha about the interpretation of many of the tenets (*dhamma*) and the rules of discipline (*vinaya*) taught by the Master. This led to the growth of schisms among the brotherhood of the Buddhist monks, and various ācāryas interpreted Buddha's dicta according to their own light. Buddha was himself aware of the possibilities of disunity amongst his followers, and he insisted on them that they should conduct themselves as a unified body (*samaggā parisā-Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*). Early Buddhist tradition records that dissensions in the brotherhood, though of a minor character, began to appear even during Buddha's lifetime (division at Kosāmbi, and schism of Devadatta), but these were settled by the Master's timely intervention and careful mediation. With his disappearance, however, splits became more frequent and permanent, inspite of the efforts of the elders like Mahākāśyapa and others. These came to a head about a century after the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, when the second Mahāsaṃgīti was held at Vaiśālī. This was the occasion when a large body of the Buddhist monks separated from the Saṅgha, and formed a school of their own described by the later tradition, both southern and northern, as the Mahāsaṃghika. During Aśoka's time, schismatic tendencies were rampant in the Saṅgha and we find him threatening measures against those monks and nuns who would break up its unity. In his Sāñcī, Kosāmbi and Sarnāth Pillar Edicts he warns them that he would drive them out of the congregation and make them wear white robes, if they persisted in their evil intentions. The tradition about Aśoka's expulsion of the schismatic and heretical teachers

* Read at All-India Oriental Conference, Darbhanga 1948.

from the Order is recorded in the *Mahāvamśa*, and Buddhaghosa's *Samantapāsādikā*. Aśoka's punitive measures were, however, of no avail, and the schisms which had presumably developed into several schools within Buddhism continued to grow resulting into further divisions and subdivisions within the Buddhist Order.

The edicts of Aśoka do not mention the name of any sect. It can be presumed that he stood by the Theravāda or Sthaviravāda school which appears to have conformed most to the original teachings of the Buddha. Both the southern and northern texts of a much later date, however, refer to a number of schools most of which, according to them, came into being before Aśoka's time. The *Mahāvamśa*, one of the earliest southern texts to give us a systematic account of the evolution of these sects, mentions first the names of as many as 17 different schools other than the original Theravāda and the first schismatic school Mahāsāṃghika. The twelve that were connected with the former (Theravāda) were:—the Mahimśāsaka, the Vajjiputtaka, the Dhamuttariya, the Bhadrāyanika, the Chandāgārika, the Sammiti, the Vajjiputtiya, the Sabbattha, the Dhammaguttika, the Kassapiya, the Saṃkantika and the Sutta, the five associated with the latter were the Gokulika, the Ekavyohārika, the Paṇṇatti, the Bāhulika and the Cetiya. If we are to believe the *Mahāvamśa* account fully, all these 17 schools (12 Theravādin, 5 Mahāsāṃghika) had come into existence in the second century after the Mahāparinirvāṇa. Aśoka, thus, had every reason to denounce *saṃghabbedha*, one of the principal sins (*pañcanantariyāni*), that could be committed by a Buddhist. The schisms continued to multiply, and the *Mahāvamśa* says that the other schools which arose afterwards were the Hemavatā, the Rājagiriya, the Siddhatthakā, the Pubba-Seliyā, the Abara-Seliyā and the Vajiriyā. These six separated from the rest in Jambudvīpa, while the Dhammaruṇī and the Sāgaliyā separated from the rest in the island of Laṅkā.¹ The northern tradition about the grouping of the schools is preserved in the 90th volume of the *sūtra* of Bstan-hgyur from the works of Vasumitra, Bhavya, Vinitadeva and others. Bhavya first distinguishes the two major schools, the Sthavira and the Mahāsāṃghika. Of these, the first gradually divided into the following 12 factions—the Sthavira proper, also called the Haimavata, the Sarvāstivādina, the Vaibhādyavādina, the Hetuvidya also called

¹ Geiger, *Mahāvamśa* (English Translation), pp. 26-7.

Muduntaka (or Muruntaka) by some, the Vātsiputtiya, the Dharmottariya, the Bhadrāyaniya, the Sammatiya also called Āvantaka by some and Kurukullaka by others, the Mahīśāsaka, the Dharmaguptaka, the Saddharmavarśaka (or properly Sauvarśaka) called Kāśyapiya by some and lastly the Uttariya, also called by some as the Saṃkrāntivādina. The factions into which the Mahāsāṃghika gradually divided itself were the Mahāsāṃghika, the Ekavyāvahārika, the Lokottaravādina, the Bahuśrutīya, the Prajñaptivādina, the Caityaka, the Pūrvaśaila and the Avaraśaila.² A comparison of the two accounts mentioned above will show that much there is in common between the two, though the southern tradition appears to be earlier.

The literary accounts of the Buddhist schools were compiled at a comparatively late period, but references to some of them are to be found in a good many Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī inscriptions of a very early date, some as early as the first or even second century B.C., and others belonging to the first or second century A.D. Several of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions edited by Konow in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, which range between 100 B.C. and 200 A.D., mention the Sarvāstivādins (the Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions, the Peshawar, Zeda and Kurruṃ relic casket inscriptions of the time of Kanīṣka and the inscribed Tor Dheri potsherds), the Kāśyapiyas (the Bedādi copper ladle inscription, and the inscribed jars from Pālāṭu Dheri), and the Mahāsāṃghikas (the Mathura Lion Capital and the Wardak Vase inscriptions). The part of an inscription on some jars unearthed at Pālāṭu Dheri was read by Konow as *Samghe chadudiṣe shamanana Babushutikana Kashyaviyana parigrabe* ('to the order of the four quarters in the acceptance of the Bahuśrutiyaka and Kāśyapiya śramaṇas'); but he was not very sure of reading the name of the Bahuśrutiyas there. If, however, his reading could be accepted without any doubt, then it would follow that the donor of the record was giving equal patronage to the monks belonging to schools arising out of two rival orders, the Mahāsāṃghika and the Theravāda. But this by itself is not at all unlikely, for the Mathura Capital inscription (N) contains the names of the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṃghikas side by side. Bühler interpreted this passage as '(in honour) of the teacher Buddhila, a native of Nagara, a Sarvāsti

2 Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, pp. 182-83.

vāda monk, who knows the wisdom of the famous Mahāsāṃghikas and is eager to explain it.' Bühler thought that the inscription probably meant to praise Buddhila for his proficiency in the doctrines of the two rival schools. Konow read the passage in question in a somewhat different manner, his interpretation of it being, 'to the teacher Buddhila from Nagara, the Sarvāstivādin monk, a *khalula* (dialectician?) to teach the foremost Mahāsāṃghikas the truth.' Whichever of the two be the correct reading and interpretation, there is no doubt that reference is made here to a Buddhist elder hailing from a region just outside the extreme north-west of India (Nagara has been located near Jalalabad in the easternmost region of Afghanistan), who was well-versed in the doctrines of the two opposite schools. The Sarvāstivādins, as we know from these inscriptions, were in possession of the *vihāra* at Mathura (they are mentioned several times in these records), whereas the Mahāsāṃghikas were not. The latter, however, had a settlement in far remote Wardak (ancient Khawaḍa, known even now as Khawat, about 30 miles to the west of Kabul) in the second century A.D. The Wardak Vase Inscription of the 51st year of the Kaniska era engraved during the reign of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja Huviṣka, records among other things that the *vihāra* was built there by one Vagramarega who had made his abode in Khavada, for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṃghika teachers. Konow says that this inscription is the only Kharoṣṭhī record which speaks of the Mahāsāṃghikas as being in charge of a *vihāra*. He further suggests that the monks of this order were not old settlers in this region, but immigrants of a more eastern district (the donor was certainly a new-comer there). From the evidence of the extant Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, there is hardly any doubt that the Sarvāstivādin school was one of the most important ones in northern India between the first century B.C. and the second century A.D.³

The Brāhmī inscriptions of the same period, if not a little earlier, found in different parts of India, especially central and western, also contain references to several well-known Buddhist schools grouped under one or the other of the main heads. Thus, the Sāñcī and Sonari inscriptions from the Bhopal State, central India, refer to the Haimavata school which according to Bhavya was another name of the Sthavira school

3 Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II.

(Theravāda). Relics of several Haimavata teachers, Kāśyapagotra, Madhyama and Dundubhisāra, and others were enshrined in and near Sāñcī. The Ācāryas just named were the first three of the five, viz., Kāśapagota, Majjhima, Dundubhisāra, Sahadeva and Mūlakadeva, who, according to the *Dīpavaṃśa*, were the inspirers and teachers of the school especially associated with the Himalayan region. The inscription on the steatite relic casket no. I found by Cunningham in *Stūpa* no. II at Sāñcī reads—*sapurisa-Kāśapagotasa sava-Hemavatāchāriyasa*; another steatite relic casket (no. III) has a slightly different inscription,—*sapurisasa Kotiputasa (Kauntiputrasya) Kāśapagotasa sava-Hemavatāchāriyasa*. The term, *sava-Hemavatāchāriya*, was translated by Fleet as 'the teacher of all the Himavat region' (*JRAS.*, 1905, p. 681). But there is no doubt that N. G. Majumdar was right in interpreting it as 'the teacher of the whole community of the Haimavatas.' He thinks that Kāśyapagotra who, according to early Buddhist tradition, was a contemporary of Aśoka (Majjhima was another, perhaps a younger, contemporary) was the founder of the Haimavata school, as he is described in the epigraphs as *Sarva-Haimavatāchārya*. Dundubhisāra's name is found in an inscription on a crystal box recovered from the Sonari *stūpa* by Cunningham. It reads—*sapurisasa Gotiputasa Hemavatasa Dundubhisāra-dāyādasā*; the casket, thus, contained the relics of the saint Gauttiputra, a Haimavata, who was a relation of Dundubhisāra. An inscribed relic casket of the saint Vāci (Vātsī) Suvijayata, evidently a Haimavata, was also found at Sāñcī. Majumdar rightly observes, 'About the end of the second century B.C., the Haimavatas must have set about collecting from various sources the corporeal relics of their former ācāryas from Kāśyapagotra to Vātsī Suvijayata (about 3 or 4 generations) and proceeded to enshrine them in a *stūpa* at Sāñcī.' It would be of interest to note here an imprecatory inscription (no. 396) of the first century B.C. found at Sāñcī, which records that 'he who removes any of the components of the *stūpa* to *aññācāriyakula* should have the fate of the perpetrator of the five sins.' In the *Mahāvamśa* account of the Buddhist sects, schools of doctrine other than Theravāda are described as *aññācāriyavāda*; thus, 'the injunction here is evidently against the removal of any property from Kākanāva (an earlier name of Sāñcī) to a non-Theravāda community like the Mahāsāṃghikas.' The inscription gives further proof that though the Theravādins were prominent at Sāñcī in the early period, by the first century B.C. other

rival schools had also their establishments there.⁴ An inscription from the Great Stūpa at Sāñcī records the gift of one Avisinā described as *suta tikini(ya)*. The epithet has been interpreted as versed in the *Suttantas*; it might also signify here 'one belonging to the Sautrāntika school' which was one of the divisions of the Sarvāstivāda (Mūla-sarvāstivāda and Sautrāntika) according to Bhavya. According to the *Mahāvamśa*, the Mahīmsāsaka and the Vajjiputtaka parted directly from the Theravāda; from the Mahīmsāsaka originated two other schools, the Sabbattha and the Dhammaguttika. 'From the Sabbattha sect arose the Kassapiyā, from these arose the Saṃkantika bhikkhus, from these last, the Sutta sect.' It is presumable that the Sutta school of the Ceylonese text and the Sautrāntika of the northern tradition are one and the same.

Early inscriptions in Brāhmī script from western India contain a number of references to some well-known Buddhist schools. Thus an inscription (Lüders' List, no. 1095) from the Karle cave refers to the gift of a pillar with relics by the preacher (*bhāṇaka*) Satimita of the *bhayaṃta* Dhamutariyas (Dharmottariyas) from Sopāraka. Another inscription (List, no. 1105) from the same place records the gift of a village to the mendicant (*pavajita*) friars dwelling in the Vāloraka caves for the support of the school (*nikāya*) of the Mahāsāṅghiyas (Mahāsāṅghikas). In the 24th regnal year of the Sātavāhana ruler Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṣumāyi, a foreigner (Parthian) named Harapharna built a nine-celled (*navagabha*) hall (*maṇḍapa*) at Karle for the community (*saṅgha*) of the four quarters as the special property of the Mahāsāṅghikas; the donor describes himself as the son of Setapharna, the Sovasaka, living at Abulāmā. Bühler long ago pointed out that Sovasaka may refer to the Sauvaṣaka or Kāśyapīya sect, a branch of the Sthavira school specially associated with the Sarvāstivādins. This interpretation of the term *sovasaka* is far more acceptable than the one according to which it may mean either *suvasita dravya-vikrayinaḥ* (of the sellers of scented objects) or *suvasākhya-deśajātasya* (of one born in a country called Suvāsa).⁵ The name does not occur in the *Mahāvamśa* list, but the Kāśyapīyas are mentioned there as the direct offshoot of the Sabbattha (Sarvāstivādin) sect. It is interesting to note here that the son of a Theravāda sectary is solicitous for the comfort of the monks belong-

4 Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, vol. I, pp. 297-98.

5 Sarkar, *Select Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 203.

ing to a rival sect; it might be that he had his personal leaning towards the Mahāsāṃghika school. The Nasik Cave Inscription of the 19th year of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṣumāyi records the gift of a *leṇa* (cave dwelling) on mount Triraśmi to be used as the special property of the school (*nikāya*) of the Bhadvānīyas (Bhadrayānīyas). The Junnar Buddhist cave inscription (List no. 1152) records the gift of a cave (*leṇa*) and a cistern (*poḍhī*) by Patibadhaka Giribhuti Sakhuyaru, son of Savagiri Yāsa of the Apaguriyas, and endowment of these establishments and the nunnery of the Dhammuttariyas (Dharmottariyas) in the town. The first part of the Nasik Cave Inscription no. 22 reads *Chetika upāsakiyasa Mugudāsasa leṇa deyadhama*; it means 'a cave, the meritorious gift of Mugudāsa who belongs to the lay worshippers of the Caitika.' Bühler rightly says, "The Cetikas, in Sanskrit Caitikas, are a subdivision of the Mahāsāṃghika school. Mugudāsa apparently attended the *bhāṇa* of some monk of the school, or to use a modern phrase, 'sat under a Caitika'."⁶

Many more inscriptions of the early period from the different parts of India can be cited, which mention the names of well-recognised Buddhist schools. But there occur various names in the early Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī inscriptions, some of which may allude to particular Bauddha goṣṭhis or sects, which have not as yet been satisfactorily explained. Konow says, 'there cannot be any doubt that we have throughout to do with Buddhist donors' in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions edited by him in *Corpus*, vol. II. If he is right, then such terms as *Vadhitirāṇa sabayaṇa*, *Vashishuga sabayaṇa*, *Pipalakhana sabayaṇa* or *Dronipadrana shāharaṇa* occurring in some of them as the names and attributes of the donors, should denote members of individual Bauddha goṣṭhis. It is for the learned Buddhologists to say whether any of these has textual basis; Konow certainly could not give any satisfactory literary parallel. The Sāñcī inscriptions contain many such names as the Tāpasīyas, Saphineyakas, Vākiliyas, Dhamakas, Magalakatiyas, most of them hailing from Ujjaini. N. G. Majumdar observes about them, 'In several instances gifts are made in the name of the family (*kula*) of an individual, or jointly by a particular sect or guild..... These names are not known from any other sources, and it is difficult to say whether they represent particular

6 ASWI, vol. IV, p. 103 and note.

families or guilds.⁷ But here also one is tempted to ask whether we can find in any of these the name of some long-forgotten Buddhist sects. My late lamented friend Dr. B. M. Barua, one of the most distinguished Buddhologists, told me a fortnight before his death that Saphineyakas might be another form of Sabbhineyakas, i.e., 'those who believe that they should be guided by the Sapurisas or 'the elect' (cf. *Dhammapada*); Vākiliyas might mean those who followed the tradition of Vakkali (Vāshkali), a famous immediate disciple of the Buddha; Tāpasīyas might denote those among the Buddhists, who set a great store on the performance of austerities. A Junnar Buddhist cave inscription (List, no. 1152) refers to the Apaguriyas; another from the same locality (List, no. 1164) mentions the holy assembly (*siddhagana*) of the Aparājitas; a third again from the same place (List, no. 1169) describes two brothers, inhabitants of Bharukaccha, as the Lāṃkuḍīyas. Who were these Apaguriyas, Aparājitas and the Lāṃkuḍīyas? Can any light be thrown on them from the extensive Buddhist literature of the early and the mediaeval period? A Mathura Buddhist inscription (List, no. 126) records the dedication of a pillar base (*kumbhaka*) by bhikṣus Sūrya and Buddharakṣita, the Prahāṇikas, for the gift of health to all Prahāṇikas. Who were these Prahāṇikas? Has the term *prabāṇika* any connection with Pāli *pabāna*? *Pabānasutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV, 7) lays down that the higher life (*brahmacariya*) is for the purpose of getting rid of the 7 fetters (*saṃyojanāni*). *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 25) expatiates on the characteristics of the god-life (*brahmacarya*), one of which is 'abandoning' (*pabāna*). The Prahāṇikas, thus, might denote a Buddhist order which set the highest value on 'brahmacarya' with all its duties and obligations.

J. N. BANERJEA

7 Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

Some old Documents in Barisal, East Bengal

The District of Barisal,—Sarkar Bāklā of the Mughal days—has a peculiar history of its own. In the early days of the Sultanate, practically independent princelings held sway over this putlying coastal region. Perhaps under their patronage, the rich folk-culture of the district took a tangible form in such works as the *Manasā-maṅgala* of Vijayagupta (15th century) and numerous sculptural relics. When the Mughals came to rule, the Bhuiyas of Chandradwip and the smaller Marcher Lords of Bāklā acted as the bulwarks of the empire against the Magh and Portuguese incursions. But the resistance proved only a half-success. The piratical ravages converted the southern regions of the district into a part of the Sundarban. The free-booters who had come to stay became, along with the issues of their Bengalee wives, an integral though rather exotic element of the population. The rule of the Nawabs saw here the rise of a new class of landlords—Hindu capitalists and Muslim militarists, and a partial reclamation of the forest lands. When the English overtook the administration, a complicated tenure was already in existence. The post-1793 settlement of the district as well as the earlier ones had to reckon with this fact. As the government's policy of reclaiming the Sundarbans gradually developed, in certain places of Barisal as many as twenty sub-tenures came into being. The advent of the British added another interesting feature to the life of this outlying district. European officers and adventurers came in search of fortune. Where fortune proved propitious enough, they stayed on, often as wealthy landlords. In the wake of the British administration there also came the British missionaries, and the church-steeple raised their heads high above the drab buildings of the muffassil town.

Documents scattered throughout the district, in Government and private possessions, bear traces of this multifarious development. Unfortunately, the bulk of the available records do not go back beyond the late 18th century. Yet these are enough to light up dim corners in the history of early British rule and of the Permanent Settlement. Through these we get a glimpse of the lives of the various elements which constituted the society of the period: the ryot and the Zemindar, the English sojourner and the Portuguese settler.

The richest collection of documents in Barisal is to be found in the possession of the district collectorate. These were the chief data for Jack's *Report on the District of Bakergunj*, a remarkable piece of revenue history. The documents going back to the pre-1793 period are kept under double-lock and are not accessible. These records are mostly the Decennial and Quinquennial Papers relating to different estates. Some pre-British 'Farmāns' submitted by the local Zemindars in support of their particular claims are also included in the lot. The post-Permanent settlement documents are in the open shelves and classified under several heads viz., sale, settlement, mutation, resumption and division of properties. Interesting as these papers are, Mr. Jack has made full use of them in his *Report*. But the *Report* after all is an work of fiscal history. It has very little concern with the spirit of the people. The quaint attitude of the common man to the new government in power, beautifully illustrated by the petitions submitted to the District authorities, was totally missed by Mr. Jack. Peculiarly personal in tone on the one hand, these petitions are overburdened with all the elaborate formalities required of the subjects in the days of the Nawabs, on the other. Perhaps one may draw a general conclusion from these records. The common people had looked on the Government of the Nawabs in the age-old oriental fashion as a paternal autocracy. To it was due an unquestioning obedience which would be paid back in terms of fatherly care and justice. Even after hundred years of British rule the distant villager appreciated but dimly the change in Government. His attitude to the ruling power was same as before. So the magistrate was addressed as the beneficent protector and the Company's prosperity prayed for. Three petitions of one Parbati Chaudhurani of Chandradwip Zemindary written in the years 1252 B.S. and 1846 A.D. may be taken as typical instances of this attitude. The first, a petition for the settlement of a property on the failure of arbitration, appeals to the magistrate's sense of justice in a typically feminine style and bluntly refers to the arbiter's dishonest ways. The second petition desires the replacement of one arbiter by another. The tone is same as before only the plea against the unfortunate man in this case is of ignorance, not dishonesty. The name of the arbiter is evidently that of a non-Bengalee, whose ignorance of local conditions thus becomes understandable. Incidentally, we get a glimpse of the inconveniences caused by the make-shift arrangements of a foreign administration. The third petition prays

for a warrant against a government khazanchi, who also is a non-Bengalee, for the return of a piece of land, seized unlawfully. These documents and their like do not perhaps add materially to our knowledge of the period. But they throw a mellow light on the life of the people as it was really lived then, adding flesh and blood to a skeleton of bare facts.

Even more interesting are the extracts and copies of a long correspondence that passed between the Collector of Dacca, Mr. Massie and the Board of Revenue, Bengal between 1798 and 1801 regarding the resumption of some rent-free lands in the possession of the Chandradwip Zemindars, i.e., the descendants of the Bhuiyas. The first letter of the series, dated November 5, 1798 gives an interesting account of the origin of some rent-free lands, peculiar to the district. "It seems," writes Mr. Massie, "that in the time of the incursions of the Mugs, the Zemindars of this part of the country held certain lands exempt from Revenue on condition of their furnishing boats and men.....and the lands so held were termed Nowara lands; some, if not all of these principal Zemindars exclusive of furnishing boats engaged to go in persons on these expeditions against the Mugs and in such cases they were allowed to hold a still greater proportion of land exempt from revenue in consideration of their personal services, and the lands though included under the general name Nowara were distinguished by the specific term Hissazaut.....It was I believe, the intention of our Government to resume the Nowarah lands of every Description with some exceptions respecting those of the Nabobs of Dacca and Murshidabad; as the services by which they were formerly held, have long been discontinued; resumptions at different times have been made but it would appear that no part of the Hissazaut lands have been resumed and I am informed that the Zemindars have contrived to conceal as much of the other Nowarah lands as would yield the Government, if assessed, at the usual rate of the District, a revenue of about Fifty Thousand Rupees per annum.".....The next important letter dated 1800 illustrates the Government's policy regarding resumption of land in the post-Permanent Settlement period. Therein Mr. Massie referred to the sale of the Chandradwip Zemindary and the Zemindar's subsequent claim to retain the Debottar or rent free lands despite the sale. But the magistrate refuted this claim on the ground that these lands were not registered according to the 19th and 37th regulations of the Act of 1793. He, however, added that purchasers too could have no claim to

any sort of rent-free land, unless such lands could be proved to have been fraudulently annexed after previous assessment when the Decennial Settlement was concluded. The answer of Mr. Dowdeswell, the Secretary, Board of Revenue dated April 1, 1800 advised the Collector to annex the above-mentioned rent-free lands to the "General Jumah of the District," "agreeably to Section 27th Regulation 19, 1799." Mr. Massie's letter, dated July 21, 1800 informed the Board of Revenue that instructions had been issued to 'the Koork Ameen of Pergunnah Chandradwip' to attack the whole of the rent-free lands with a view to annexation. But a new complication had arisen meanwhile. The manoeuvres of the Koork Ameen threatened to ruin some Brahmin families long in enjoyment of some of these rent-free lands. They submitted a 'Darkhust' in Bengali to the Magistrate, an English translation of which was enclosed with Mr. Massie's letter to the Board. This 'Durkhust' again bears, eloquent testimony to the poor villager's failure to understand a streamlined system of administration that was being suddenly imposed on him. "We have held.....for many generations," the Brahmins submitted to the Huzoor, "Burmottar and Debottar Juma lands in the aforesaid Pergunnah from the produce of which having performed worship, supported our families, we have in gratitude offered up prayers for the prosperity of the rulers of the country. This year Lala Rambuksh, the Koork Tuhseeldar has attached our Jumma lands and says that formerly a proclamation was issued requiring all Deeds.....to be produced at the Huzoor.....We are village Brahmins and never received intimation of the proclamation nor was it published at the Cutchery of the Pergunnah".....Now that they were aware of the existence of such a law they promised to submit all relevant deeds and declared, "Exclusive of these Juma lands we have no means of supporting ourselves and families and performing worship." On this very weighty ground they prayed for the release of their lands and assured Mr. Massie in return that "enjoying our lands as heretofore we shall pray for your prosperity." (Dated 1207 B.S.). The Board of Revenue's response to this pathetic appeal, forwarded to them by the District Magistrate was indeed humane to a great extent. For the Secretary's letter, dated July 25, 1800 stated that the order for annexation of the rent-free lands was based on the supposition that the Zemindar held over 100 Bighas of such lands. In such a case alone would the annexation be authorised by the Sec. 26,

Regulation 19 of 1793. But as the lands in question were held by individuals in small plots, they could be annexed, even if the claim were invalid, by the Zemindars only. So the magistrate was advised to release the lands. After due enquiries, Mr. Massie again wrote to the Board expressing grave doubts as to the truth of the Zemindar's statement regarding the Taksim Jumma of his Lakhiraj. He however, had already ordered the release of the small rent-free holdings. But the Kanungo was advised not to be imposed upon by the circumstances of persons holding more than 100 Bighas of rent-free lands under different fictitious names. According to Mr. Massie's information the Zemindar of Chandradwip held 919 Bighas of such lands in this manner. The Ameen in course of his work sent an "Arzi," to the magistrate wherein he mentioned the interesting fact that there were seven types of Lakhiraj in Chandradwip. Mr. Massie's letter of October 10, 1800 cut the Gordian knot; all Lakhiraj lands not already registered, became taxable as a penalty for this neglect. Law obviously could not be allowed to be ignored. But the Board of Revenue was apparently inclined to be more humanely cautious. On October 17, it ordered the magistrate to enquire more carefully into the lands held by 'Badshahie grants' or "otherwise Mushrootee Jageers" conferred for the performance of Public Service. A petition from the Zemindar followed on November 11, 1800. When we think of him as the fallen descendant of the mighty Bhuiyas of Chandradwip, the melancholy note of his appeal becomes peculiarly poignant. The petition referred to the sale of the entire property in 1206 B.S. when the Lakhiraj alone became the sole means of his livelihood. It goes on to state how official red-tapism prevented the registration of the deeds in his possession. A full list of the farmāns granting these lands—one from Muhammad Shah, under the Seal of Murshid Quli Khan, another from Alamgir and so on—was attached to the petition. It ended with the prayer "for an increase of the prosperity of the Honourable Company." Several more letters passed between the Board and the Magistrate till at last all the lands were resumed on the ground that they were not registered. We are only left to guess how far the neglect was wilful or otherwise. But however that may have been, this long correspondence gives us a clear picture of the evolution of the Government's policy regarding resumption of land in the early days of the Permanent Settlement and its effects on the lives of the people, specially the Zemindars.

Documents of another sort are preserved in the District Sub-Registry Office, at Barisal. Quite a number of volumes in the possession of this office consists of documents of the period 1797-1868. These documents, unlike those relating to the court-proceedings of the period, are in Bengali, not Persian. These are mostly deeds of sale or lease of property, wills and similar other papers. Some papers refer to the marriage registration of Muslims, and as such are interesting from the view-point of social history.

Perhaps only next in importance to the documents in Government possession are those to be found in the Zemindars' Cutcheries. Unfortunately, these are in a very bad state of preservation. Hence, though quite a number of estates date back to pre-British days, no document prior to the late 18th century could be found. However, fairly good collections of papers of the pre-Mutiny days are preserved in the record rooms of the D'Silva Estate, the Jordon Estate, the Kirtipasha Estates, and the Sayestabad Estate. Some of the papers, e.g., Dākhilās, petitions from the ryots, Kabuliyats, Thak Naksās, etc., are directly related to Zemindary administration. As a whole, they give us a glimpse of the Permanent Settlement in action in its earlier days. The Kabuliyats referring to the 'Jangal Bāri Taluks' preserve traces of the gradual reclamation of such areas. The ryots' petitions to the Zemindars, affording a direct view of the life of the tillers of the soil, are of far greater interest. Mostly referring to claims of tenure, these also include such documents as 'Kharij-patras,' i.e., papers relating to sale of tenure rights, and often mention the rent for particular areas. One petition of a 'Mirashi Howladar,' Sri Lakshmi Priya Devi, gives the 'Sadar jamā' for her 'Mirashi Howla' covering one Bigha thirteen Kathas and five and a quarter Gandas of lands as being Rs. 84-3-0 pies only. These papers also refer to the various types of sub-tenures existent in the district, and to the descendants of the Portuguese settlers, who had become absolutely identified with the local population.

The copies of court proceedings in the possession of the estates are more numerous and also more informative than the type of documents discussed above. These approximately cover the period 1797-1864. Most of these records are in Persian, while some are in English or highly Persianised Bengali. These consist of copies of judgments, petitions, statements, *jabānbandi*, police reports, etc. These papers help us to form

an idea as to the proceedings of the district courts in this epoch. We find the earlier documents, e.g., one dated 1820, bearing the seal and signature of the local Qazis. Incidental informations, e.g., the sale of a Barisal property in Calcutta, are often given. More valuable are the details of the expenses of cases appended at the end of the judgments. Thus the expenses of a possession suit involving property worth Rs. 185/- only are given in a Persian document dated 1840, as follows: Okalatnama: Rs. 2/- only, Papers of Okalatnama. Re. 1/- only; Summons: Rs. 1-12 annas only; Istahar Rs. 1-12 annas only; Vakil's fees: Rs. 8/4/- annas only; Piyada Rs. 1-4 annas only; Piyada-i-Istahar Rs. 1-4 only; Piyada-i-Rahi Rs. 1-8 annas only, and Arzi: Rs. 3/- only. The three types of Piyadas, whose exact functions we do not know, obviously belonged to some now extinct species in the menial staff of the district administration. A Bengali document, dated 1864, gives a rather intriguing account of the expenses of a small suit involving property the 'sadar jamā' of which was Rs. 4-8 annas only. The expenses were as follows: Okalatnama As. /8/- only; Arzi papers As. -/4/- only; Summons Rs. 2/- only; Vakil's fees As. -/2/- 3 pies only; Damage; As. -/10/- only; total Rs. 3-9-3 pies only.

The papers relating to criminal cases throw interesting side-lights on the social history of the period. A police report dated 1859 on a reported case of a river dacoity refers to the furtive alliance between the Zemindars and the bad characters of a locality. Another report tells us of the transfer of allegiance by some tenants living on disputed soil from one talukdar to another and of the consequent bloodshed. The copy of a judgment in a murder case, dated 1859 refers to the excesses committed by a Barkandaz.

The copies of petitions to the court preserved in the Zemindary Cutcheries are mainly illustrative from the historical point of view. One dated 1857 prays for the 'Meyadi Bandobast' of a big mahal; another dated 1859 prays for the issue of an order of confiscation. The petition of a lady of obviously Portuguese descent,—'কাত্রিনা পিবিচ' wife of 'পাচকন কুলবি আন্দোজ আন্দোজ' authorises somebody to act as her representative.

More interesting are the statements taken from various persons by the district authorities, and recorded in the form of dialogues, specially in view of their style. One such document, dated 1847, begins as follows:—
 "শ্রীরামকানাই তর্কচূড়ামণি পী. রামকিঙ্কর তর্কভূষণ মতকী সাকিন গুটিয়া

হাল মো. কিস্তিপাসা প. সীলমাবাদ জিজ্ঞাসামতে আপনাকে শ্রীপ্রসন্নকুমার সেন নাবালগের ওছি থাকা প্রকাশ করাতে কএক কথা জিজ্ঞাসা করা আবিস্মক হইল ইতি—ছগাল—তুমী কতকাল ওছাএতি কর্ষে নিজুক্ত আছ—জন্তাব—বর্তমান সনের গত ভাদ্রমাসের ১৯ তারিখে রাজকুমার সেন, মতফীর স্ত্রী ব্রহ্মময়ী আপন মৃত্যুর ৪ চাইর দিবস পূর্বে আমি এবং প্রতিভো নন্দহুলাল ভট্টাচার্য্যাকে স্বিয় নাবালগ পুত্রের ওছাএতি কর্ষে নিজুক্ত করাতে একাক্যমতে উক্ত কর্ষ নির্বাহ করিয়া আসীতেছি ইতি—.....।”

And so on it goes, giving detailed informations regarding Zemindary management. The tehsils, we learn, were managed with the help of clerks and several employees of a non-descript character, while the godown was entrusted to a head jamadar and his several assistants.

Among these varied documents were found two which throw a flood of light on the Indo-Portuguese community in this epoch. The first is a certified Bengali translation of a will in Portuguese made by one Dr. Clement of Dacca in 1839. The second is a collection of papers relating to a case arising out of this will. The will begins with an invocation of the Holy Trinity and solemnly asserts the spiritual motives which inspired Dr. Clement to make it:—“১ দফা ঈশ্বর পিতার নাম ও পুত্রের নাম এবং ধর্ম আন্তার নাম তিনজন প্রথক এক পরমেশ্বর সন্ত আমি কেলেমা ফ্রানসিস দ্দোজ আঞ্জজ সারীরিক মুস্থ অবস্থা জ্ঞানপূর্বক এবং মৃত্যু হওয়া ও আমার আত্মা এই পৃথিবী হইতে নিরাকার ভবনে যাইতে হইবেক নিশ্চয় জানি কিন্তু মৃত্যুর দিন ও সময় অজ্ঞান থাকিয়া আমার আত্মা রক্ষা পাওয়ার চেষ্টার নিমিত্ত আমার এই উইল অর্থাৎ দানপত্র করিতেছি।”

The will tells us that the doctor was born in Goa and a resident of Dacca. His extensive property in land and cash were to be distributed among his nephews and natural sons, while a part of the income was to go to the church of Tejgaon. Apparently the doctor was somehow connected with the management of the Church. For the will laid down that the Church was to be subject to the authority to the Bishop of ‘Badatmaniapur.’ A part of the cash was to be converted into Government Promissory Notes, an expression which has been boldly translated in the will as “কোম্পানি বাহাদুরের কাগজ অর্থাৎ পরমেশ্বরী নোট” A dispute arose when a part of the property from which the Church was to get its share of the inheritance was sold to a local Zemindar. And in the papers relating to the prolonged law suit we see the worldly Padre of

Tejgaon valiantly defending the rights of his trust, while the heirs of the Portuguese Dr. Clement appear to be indistinguishable from the native Zemindars.

Similarly, the papers in the possession of the Jordons, a family apparently of Greek origin, tell us much about the Europeans who came to Bengal in the 19th century. A series of deeds of sale tell us how the Jordons' house at Barisal changed hands; how a Calcutta Barrister and a lieutenant bought it jointly from one Mr. Reed in 1851 for Rs. 5,000/- only and sold it to Mr. Jordon in 1857 for Rs. 8,000/-. The house, it appears, was both rented out and used as a country house. We see from some other deeds of agreement that the house in which Mr. Jordon lived before,—once known as the Barisal School,—was let out successively to a number of European officers at the rate of Rs. 50/- only p.m., a rather high rate for those days one must say. Who was this Mr. Jordon who bought costly houses and ultimately became a big Zemindar? A copy of an application for pension preserved in his Cutchery tells us that he held various posts under the Government and retired as the Head Clerk in the Collectorate, drawing a salary of Rs. 80/- only p.m. Was Mr. Jordon a very frugal man or was the cost of living in that period very low? The answer to the second question must be in the negative if we are to believe the evidence of Mr. Jordon's application to the Judge of 24 Parganahs praying for the issue of "the necessary order on the plaintiff for the payment of the amount" of his travelling allowances and diet money. The statement of expenses given is as follows. "Boat hire in coming to Calcutta Rs. 50/-, Do for returning to Barisal Rs. 30/-, Diet allowance for 20 days at Rs. 2/- per diem, Rs. 40/-, salary to substitute in his office for 20 days at Rs. 80/- per month Rs. 53/-, total Rupees 173/-." Yet the life of the uncovenanted European officer seems to have been easy enough. That class, it appears from a statement of leave of absence granted to ministerial officers, also in the possession of the Jordons, was pretty numerous. This statement dated 1864 also mentions the monthly salary for different posts as follows: Treasurer Rs. 110/-, Munshi: Rs. 20/-, Peshkar Rs. 30/-, Accountant Rs. 22/-, Serestadar Rs. 100/-, the Muhuris Rs. 12/- to Rs. 15/-.

Glimpses of the life of the European community may also be had from the Baptism, Marriage and Death Registers in the possession of the different Churches in the District. But the information available there-

from are scrappy in nature. From these, however, we get an idea of the various offices held by the Europeans in the district. Later records bear traces of the early conversions among the peasantry.

The documents discussed above obviously do not exhaust the total available material. It seems that the Zemindars of Chandradwip and Raikathi had quite a number of pre-British documents in their possession. A patient search may surely lead to the recovery of at least some of these. The private papers in the possession of the Catholic Churches at Barisal and Padri Sibpur, still inaccessible to the outsider, may yield valuable informations. The same remark holds true about the early minutes of the Baptist Mission. Some of the old Eurasian families, it is believed, possess documents with bearings on the early history of their colonisation. If all these materials are taken together, they may help us to reconstruct the history of the district anew. What is more, they may prove to be invaluable sources for the history of the people of Bengal, which has yet to be written.

TAPANKUMAR RAY CHAUDHURI

Linga Worship in the Mahābhārata

It is proposed in the present paper to take note of certain peculiarities of the Linga worship propagated in the *Mahābhārata* and their implications which lead to the conclusion that it is a new synthetic cult which requires to be studied in relation to its larger background.

Important points regarding the Linga worship included in the epic may be noted in the first instance. Statements are made in different places in the text which show that the Linga had definitely come to be regarded as the symbol of Rudra or Maheśvara. Rudra is revealed by his linga (खलिङ्गाविर्भूत)¹. He is चारुलिङ्ग, महालिङ्ग, लिङ्गाध्यक्ष². Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Indra worship the linga of Maheśvara³. Rṣis, gods, gandharvas and apsarasas worship his linga, ऋषयश्चैव देवाश्च गन्धर्वाप्सरसस्तथा लिङ्गमस्यार्चयन्ति⁴. It is said that Vāsudeva, Arjuna and Aśvatthamā worshipped the linga of Rudra in successive ages. Keśava worshipped the linga of Rudra knowing that he was the origin of all things, सर्वरूपमभवमज्ञात्वा योऽर्चयति प्रभुम्⁵. The worship, of the linga of Rudra gives great prosperity to the worshipper. लिङ्गमपूजयिता नित्यम् महतीं श्रियमश्नुते⁶. The linga of Rudra is worshipped because he is the greatest of all, अर्चयेथाः सदा लिङ्गं तस्माच्छ्रेष्ठतमो हि सः⁷. It is stated that it has not been heard that the gods have ever worshipped the linga of any other god, न शुश्रुम यदन्यस्य लिङ्गमभ्यर्चितं सुरैः⁸. कस्यानस्य सुरैः सर्वैर्लिङ्गं मुक्ता महेश्वरम् । अर्चयेतेऽर्चितपूर्वं वा ब्रूहि यद्यस्ति ते श्रुतिः⁹. Regarding the origin of the worship of the linga it is said that in the beginning of things Rudra went into the primeval waters for the creation of *prajā* but he remained so long under the waters that Prajāpati thought that he had disappeared, and he created *prajā* with the help of another agency and he created food for the *prajā*. Thereafter Rudra emerged from the waters and finding that the work given him had already been done by others angrily planted his linga into the earth and retired to the Muñjavat hill for practising austerities¹⁰.

1 *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana Parvan ch. 17 (Bangavasi Ed.).

2 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, Droṇa P., ch. 201.

6 *Ibid.*, Droṇa P., ch. 201.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*, Sautpika ch. 17.

3 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*, Dṛoṇa P., ch. 200.

7 *Ibid.*, Anuś. ch. 14.

The liṅga of Rudra is described as being in an upright state, ऊर्द्धम समस्थिम¹⁰. Obeisance is made to Rudra with upright liṅga¹¹. Rudra is ऊर्द्धलिङ्ग, ऊर्द्धरेतस, ऊर्द्धशायी¹². The meaning of this upright position of the liṅga is thus explained. It always observes *brahmacarya*, नित्येन ब्रह्मचर्येण लिङ्गमस्य यदा स्थितम्¹³.

Just as the liṅga had come to be regarded definitely as the symbol of Rudra so also had the *bhaga* or *yoni* come to be regarded as the symbol of the Devī or Umā¹⁴. Though the *bhaga* is recognised as the symbol of the Devī there is, however, no reference to the independent worship of this symbol. It assumes importance through its connection with the symbol of Rudra.

The worship of the liṅga of Rudra with the symbol of the Devī playing an important part in the composition of the cult object is propagated by the renowned sage Upamanyu.

The occasion of the propagation of this new worship is Kṛṣṇa's desire to obtain a son. Jāmbavatī, one of Kṛṣṇa's wives, was desirous of obtaining a son as renowned as the sons of Kṛṣṇa by Rukminī. Kṛṣṇa assured her that he would worship Paśupati for obtaining the boon of such a son for her and he proceeded to the Himalayas for the purpose. He arrived at the āśrama of the sage Upamanyu. He was welcomed by the young sage who told him that he would most assuredly gain his object if he propitiated Maheśvara by means of austerities. On being propitiated by means of austerities in the past he granted Vidyutprabha one hundred thousand sons. He granted Prajāpati Brahmā who performed a sacrifice lasting three hundred years one thousand sons devoted to sacrifices. Propitiated by careful performance of austerities he granted various boons to Śākalya, Vikarṇa, Yājñavalkya, Vyāsa, Savarṇa, Nārada and others. Next, he told at length the story of his conversion. When he was a boy the sight of a cow being milked at an āśrama filled him with a strong desire for a drink of milk. He expressed his desire to his mother. Being too poor to procure milk for her son his mother gave him some rice gruel as milk. The boy who knew the taste of milk complained that she had deceived him. Full of sorrow the mother said that they were too poor

10 *Mbh.*, Droṇa, ch. 201.

12 *Ibid.*, Anuś. ch. 17.

14 *Ibid.*, Droṇa ch. 201.

11 *Ibid.*, Droṇa ch. 201.

13 *Ibid.*, Droṇa ch. 201.

to be able to procure milk. How could they procure milk and such other luxuries except through the favour of Mahādeva? She advised her son to worship Maheśvara and in reply to his enquiries about this particular god she described in a hymn his greatness, his many attributes and aspects. Sometimes he puts on a girdle of snakes, ear ornaments of snakes and sacred thread of snakes and snake skin is used by him as his upper garment. Sometimes he appears with mahāliṅga and naked.¹⁵ Following his mother's instructions Upamanyu plunged himself into extreme austerities for winning the favour of Mahādeva. After a thousand years had passed Maheśvara appeared before him in the form of Indra to test the strength of his devotion and offered to grant him any boon that he desired. Upamanyu declined to receive boons from any other god except Maheśvara. Upamanyu's reply to Indra is marked by a vehemence of feeling and aggressive sectarian zeal which arrests attention and reveals in him the propagator of a new cult. He declares that he attaches no value to dominion over the three worlds attained by the boon of any other god but he is prepared to be born in the house of a caṇḍāla provided he preserves his faith in Maheśvara. He is ready to be born as an insect, a fly or a dog in obedience to the command of Maheśvara but he does not care for Indraship granted by the king of the gods. He believes that Rudra, the god of the gods, is the origin of all things. "Look here O Devendra, Rudra has put the feminine symbol on his liṅga. My mother had said before that he was the sole cause of the birth of people. Brahmā and the other gods and the three worlds have sprung to life from his liṅga. ...Just as the liṅga is the symbol of Īśāna so also is the *bhaga* the symbol of the Devī... These two symbols divide the creation into males and females. The lotus is the symbol of Brahmā, the thunderbolt of Indra and the discus of Viṣṇu but none of these symbols is borne by creatures. they bear either the symbol of Maheśvara or that of Umā. Maheśvara and the Devī pervade the world and those who are distinguished by the two marks of *liṅga* and *bhaga* have originated from and belong to them".¹⁶ So it is not the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ प्रत्यक्षमिदं देवेन्द्र पश्य लिङ्गं भगाङ्कितम् । देवदेवेन रुद्रेण सृष्टिसंहार हेतुना ॥ सात्रा पूर्व्वं समाख्यातम् कारणं लोकलक्षणम् ।...प्रत्यक्षं ननु ते सुरेश विदितं संयोगलिङ्गाद्वयम् । तैलक्यं सविकार-निर्गुण-गणं ब्रह्मादिरेतोद्भवम् ।...न चकाङ्क्षा न वज्राङ्क्षा यतः

linga of Rudra alone that is to be worshipped, the proper object of worship is the linga marked by or bearing on it the symbol, of the Devī. Rudra has himself put on this mark on his symbol, because together the two symbols represent the origin of all things. This is the kind of worship of Rudra preached by the sage Upamanyu to Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, who had repaired to his āśrama desirous of obtaining a worthy son by Jāmbavatī by worshipping Mahādeva.

To continue the story of Upamanyu. The rejection of the offer of boon by Mahādeva disguised as Indira led the mighty god to reveal himself to his devotee. The elephant of Indra changed into the noble, massive bull white as the sea of milk or a mass of white clouds and on it were seated the god of the gods accompanied by Umā. He had eighteen arms and bore in them the famous Paśupat weapon, trident and the battle axe. The last named weapon was later given to Paraśurāma. It is to be noted that the god whose worship in the form of the phallus is ardently preached by the sage does not appear to him in that form but in the traditional anthropomorphic form. Propitiated by his hymns the god calls upon him to ask for boons. Upamanyu's prayer is interesting. He prays that the god may be pleased to grant him the boon that he may always enjoy rice boiled in milk with his friends, क्षीरोदनञ्च भुञ्जीयामक्षयं सह बान्धवैः ।¹⁷

Profoundly impressed by what the sage had told him Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva came to be initiated by him into the new religion. His head was shaven and he was given the ascetic's staff and garb. He practised austerities for six months after which the god appeared before him along with Pārvatī, *devyā saba Mabeśvara*¹⁸. Saṃkara and Umā granted him the boon of hundred sons including one called Samba¹⁹. It is further stated that the sage Taṇḍi obtained the boon of a son from Mahādeva by worshipping him. Similar boons were granted also to Anaśvāyana, Garga, Paraśara and others.

It should be noted, as pointed out above, that while the sage Upamanyu propagates the worship of the joint symbols of Rudra and the Devī, the deities appear before him, as also before Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva

प्रजा ।...पुंलिङ्गं स्वर्गमीशानां स्त्रीलिङ्गं विद्धि चाप्युमाम् । द्वाभ्यां तनुभ्यां व्याप्तं हि चराचर-
मिदं जगत् ॥ Anuśāsana Parvan ch. 14.

¹⁷ Ibid.¹⁸ Ibid.¹⁹ Ibid., Anu. ch. 16.

in anthropomorphic and not in their symbolic forms. The conception of the combination of the two generative principles is not however confined to the symbolic representation only, it is extended also to anthropomorphic representation. Who has his consort forming half of his body, कस्य चाद्धे स्थिता कान्ता ।²⁰ The same fact is referred to again, नारीनरशरीराय स्त्रीपुंसाय नमस्तुते ।²¹

When Rudra and the Devī appear so often in anthropomorphic form in the *Mahābhārata* before the devout and Rudra by himself appears in human form and actively intervenes in affairs no less frequently it may be asked why his symbol also should have come to receive extensive worship at the same time. It is possible that the worship of the liṅga was an esoteric development of the Rudra cult with a special significance or that the cult of the liṅga was of an independent growth and of early origin assimilated later into the Rudra cult.

The liṅga worship propagated by the sage Upamanyu is the worship of the detached phallus and phallus bearing on it the sign of the *bhaga*. How the liṅga was detached from his person by Rudra is briefly told in the Sautika Parvan to which reference has already been made.²² This simple story of the detachment of the liṅga by Rudra from his person appears also in different Purāṇas with modifications. The *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* says that Prakṛti in the form of a putrid corpse approached *tāmasa puruṣa* Śiva absorbed in meditation in the primal waters. Śiva caught hold of the corpse and seated himself on its breast realising in a moment that the Devī in the form of corpse became a *yoni*. After having planted the liṅga into the *trikoṇamaṇḍala* he dived into the water for creating *maheśvarī prajā*.²³ In the *Saura Purāṇa* Brahmā describes to Nārada how the liṅga originated. In ancient times when there was a quarrel between him and Viṣṇu over the respective merit of each the Liṅga appeared

²⁰ *Ibid.* ch. 14.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² जुक्रोध भगवान रुद्रो लिङ्गं सञ्चाप विध्यत । तं प्रविद्धं तथा भूमौ तथैव प्रस्यतिप्रत ।
... किमर्थञ्चेदमुत्पत्त्या लिङ्गं भूमौ प्रवोरितम् । प्रजाः सृष्टाः परेयोमाः किं करिष्याम्यनेन वै ।
Sautika Parvan ch. 17.

²³ *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*, Madhya kh. ch. 1 (Bangavasi Ed.).

surrounded by flames of destructive fire, unchangeable and without beginning and end. Mahādeva in his half man and half woman form presided over it.²⁴ He challenged Brahmā and Viṣṇu to find out the beginning and the end of the liṅga and both of them were unsuccessful. Thereupon Mahādeva called upon both of them to worship him in the form of liṅga²⁵. The same Purāṇa has also another account. Śiva in the guise of a Viṭa and Viṣṇu in the form of a female went to the Dāruvana, where the wives of the sages and young munis began to follow the Viṭa and his female companion inflamed by lust. This exasperated the sages who cursed Śiva that he would lose his organ of reproduction. As a result Śiva's liṅga became detached from his body. Śiva's consort came to be known as *mekhalā* and was joined to the liṅga²⁶. According to *Nārada Pañcarātra* Śiva's semen falling to the ground became liṅga²⁷. The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* account is the same as the first account in the *Saura Purāṇa*. The *Padma Purāṇa* gives a different account. The sage Bhṛgu was deputed by the other sages to make enquiries into the habits of Mahādeva with a view to ascertain which god was worthy of being worshipped by the Brahmans. Bhṛgu proceeded to Mahādeva's abode and was told that he was with Pārvatī. He waited for a long time but could not see Mahādeva. So in anger

24 It is of importance to note this statement because it reveals the real character of the epic liṅga cult. The presiding deity is represented to be androgynous for the reason that the liṅga is not simply the phallus, but a synthetic representation of both the male and female principles. As Gopinath Rao points out, that "the male and female principles are inseparable and are ever found together in cosmic evolution is the real import of the *Arddhanārīśvar* or *Haryardha* forms of Śiva: the same idea is also conveyed in a brief way by the symbols the liṅga and the yoni." (T. A. G. Rao, *Element of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 59). The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, referring to the origin of the androgynous form, says that Brahmā became angry when he found that Bhṛgu, Dakṣa, Atri and others of his nine sons were indifferent to the increase of creatures. Out of his anger was born Rudra with his body half male and half female. Brahmā asked him to divide himself and he divided himself into the male and the female. (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Bk. I, ch. 7). According to the *Manu Samhitā* Brahmā divided his body into the male and the female and with the help of the female created the Virāṭa (*Manu Sam.*, I, 32).

25 *Saura Purāṇa* ch. 14.

27 *Nāradapañcarātra*, 3rd rātra. ch. 1.

26 *Ibid.*, ch. 69.

he uttered a curse. The god, busy in enjoying himself with a female, had neglected him, so they would turn into *liṅga* and *yonī*. Mahādeva had failed to show proper respect to a Brahman, so he became an *abrāhmaṇa* and unworthy of being worshipped by Brahmans (*Padma Purāṇa* Uttara khaṇḍa.). The first account in the *Saura Purāṇa* regarding the appearance of the *liṅga* surrounded by flames is important. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* gives the same story in some detail. That this story was of old origin and was known to the *Mahābhārata* is proved by the reference in the *Sauptika* Parvan to the appearance of a gold altar with great flames of fire on it on *Aśvatthamā*'s invoking *Śiva* on his way to the *Pāṇḍava* camp²⁸. The story on which the *Saura Purāṇa* account is based is given with slight modifications in the *Vāyu*, *Śiva* and *Kurma Purāṇas*. The summary of the story as given by Rao is reproduced: "*Viṣṇu* at the end of a *kalpa* was slumbering on the deep abyss of waters: a great illumination occurred then near *Viṣṇu* and from it emerged *Brahmā*. *Brahmā* saw before him another person *Viṣṇu*; *Brahmā* approached *Viṣṇu* and introduced himself to *Viṣṇu* as the creator of the whole universe and demanded of *Viṣṇu* who he was; to which *Viṣṇu* replied that he was also the architect of the universe. *Brahmā* could not brook the statement of *Viṣṇu* and a quarrel ensued between them both. At this juncture there appeared a *liṅga* resembling the great cosmic fire, with hundreds of tongues of flames blazing out of it. Instead of quarrelling with each other *Brahmā* and *Viṣṇu* set about to find out the top and bottom respectively of this huge mass of fire, for which purpose the former assumed the form of a swan and flew up in the air; while the latter took the form of a boar and burrowed down into the earth. The attempt of these two gods to discover the reality and measure of this fiery pillar proved futile. They then came to realise that there certainly was some thing greater than themselves; whose top or bottom they could not find out; thus humiliated they approached this pillar of fire and began to praise it." (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II part I, pp. 105, 106). According to Rao the story of the appearance of *Śiva* as a blazing pillar is to be traced to *Skambha* of the *Atharva Veda*. He writes, *Skambha* "is conceived as co-extensive with the universe and comprehends in him the various

28 *Mahābhārata*, *Sauptika* P. ch. 7.

parts of the material universe as also the abstract qualities, *tapas*, faith" etc.....He is distinct from Prajāpati. The thirty-three gods are comprehended in him. The gods who form part of him do him homage.....In the praise of Skambha we meet with the following passages, namely, 'where Skambha generating brought Purāṇapuruṣa into existence', and 'Skambha in the beginning shed forth gold (hiranya, out of which Hiranyagarbha arose) in the midst of the world'.....We see that one of the functions of Skambha is to beget Hiranyagarbha or Purāṇapuruṣa the god of reproduction". Rao suggests that the Non-Aryan worshippers of the phallus might have based the identity of the liṅga with this Skambha²⁹. It is more likely that the earlier ideas were utilised by those who brahmanised the autochthonous cult to give it a high philosophical background. But both the Skambha and the blazing pillar ideas go back to the *Rgveda*. "As Soma flowed in drops he caused an immense column of light filling the universe to appear. In a marvellous manner it extended to the sky". (*Rv.*, IX. 61. 16.) The idea of Soma appearing as a column is expanded in IX. 74. 2. "He supports the sky like a column or pillar. He supports the earth and the sky united to each other." (दिवो यः स्कम्भो धरुणः स्वातत आपूर्णा अंशुः पर्येति विश्वतः । से मे मही रोदसो यच्च दाहता समीचोने दाधार समिधः कविः ॥) Again, "Soma holds the sky, he is like a pillar..." (असर्जि स्कम्भो दिव उद्यतो etc. IX, 86, 46). Thus we find that the Puranic description of Śiva's liṅga appearing as a blazing column of light is to be traced to the *Rgveda*. It is to be noted that the idea in the *Rgveda* and *Atharva Veda* has not anything to do with Rudra-Śiva. The *Atharva Veda*, however, goes further than the *Rgveda* in the development of the skambha idea. The idea was borrowed by the Puranic exponents of the cult of liṅga who were not, evidently, satisfied with the unimaginative myth of Śiva dropping his liṅga voluntarily or involuntarily on account of the curse of some sages.

According to the texts it is then the detached phallus of Rudra that is to be worshipped. This is of importance to notice, because it establishes two points: the accounts of the worship of the detached liṅga of Mahādeva show that this worship had a scope for evolution

²⁹ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, part i, pp. 56, 57.

as an independent cult; they also show that Rudra was not regarded as an ithyphallic god.

There is both textual and archæological evidence to prove that the phallus cult in India was of independent origin and without any connection with Rudra in its earlier stages. The same kind of evidence shows further that Rudra or Rudra-Siva was not an ithyphallic god as some scholars have imagined.

The phallic conception has found expression mainly in three ways; (1) ithyphallic representation of a deity; i.e. representation of a male or female deity with exaggerated reproductive organs etc.; (2) representation of detached organs of generation; and (3) ascription of phallic significance to certain objects. Among ithyphallic representations of deities mention may be made of the old Teutonic deity Frey who was represented with a very large phallus³⁰. The Egyptian deities Chem, Munt and Amun were ithyphallic and represented with exaggerated organs³¹. Many instances of the worship of ithyphallic saints and deities have been given by Hartland³². Female deities in whose case stress is laid on their ithyphallic character are sometimes represented with exaggerated breasts or pudendum or breasts or pudendum exposed³³. Objects to which phallic significance is attributed are many and varied and throughout the world the practice of distinguishing certain objects by associating them with sex ideas has been known. Such association has been suggested sometimes by obvious or remote resemblance. Cakes, loaves, flowers, fruits, trees, the pestle, grindstone, rocks, stone pillars, menhirs etc. are among objects to which phallic significance has been attached³⁴. As for

³⁰ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. IX, p. 816.

³¹ C. P. Tiele, *History of the Egyptian Religion*, Translated by J. Ballingal. 1882, pp. 80, 123, 125. Herodotus relates (11-48) that in the festival of Osiris priapian images were carried about the villages by the women. They were each about a cubit in height with a Phallus almost as large as the rest of the figure worked by strings, (*ERE.*, IX/821).

³² See E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*. In the Middle ages and since in various parts of France and Belgium, ithyphallic saints have been worshipped for offspring or curing impotence and sexual disease. *E.R.E.*, IX/817.

³³ Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, pp. 161 f. 380 for representations of Ishtar with emphasised sexual features. Re. such female effigies in Ireland known to Irish antiquaries by the name of Sheila-na-gig see *E.R.E.*, IX/817.

³⁴ *E.R.E.*, vol. IX, pp. 818 f.

detached phallic symbols representations of or objects purporting to represent both male and female reproductive organs have been directly worshipped or treated as cult objects in different countries. The worship of the detached phallus was known in many of the Mediterranean countries and in Western Asia. In Rome Tutunus or Muntunus, otherwise Facinus and later identified with Priapus was represented in the form of a phallus³⁵. The image of Hermæ worshipped in Cyllene was according to Pausanius nothing but the representation of a male organ³⁶. The worship of detached phallus was widely prevalent in Greece³⁷, and it was known also in Babylonia³⁸ and Egypt³⁹. Ex-voto stones bearing phallic figures have been dug up at Roman forts and settlements in England and Scotland⁴⁰. Large stones of phallic shape have been found in the graves of the Viking age in Norway⁴¹. In the old Shinto religion of Japan detached phalli were set up everywhere on the roadside. As regards representations of the detached female symbol models of the female organ in wax, clay etc. are known to have been in use as votive offerings⁴². The cross, the crescent moon, the horse shoe have also been regarded as emblems of the female organ⁴³. Ringstones are another well known class of objects in use of old in different countries as representation of the female organ. Objects which have been interpreted as detached phalli have been found at Chalcolithic sites in the Indus Valley. Reference will be made to them presently. Along with them have also been found a number of ring stones, some of the smaller objects being in stone, faience, shell etc. Marshall's interpretation of these objects is that they are representations of the yoni or the female organ⁴⁴ and he thinks that these ring stones

35 *E.R.E.*, vol. IX, p. 822.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 818.

37 G. A. St. John, *History of the Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece*, vol. I, p. 44; vol. I, p. 24.

38 *J.R.A.S.* vol. I, pp. 91, 92.

39 V. Kennedy, *Researches into the Nature and Affinity of Ancient Hindu Mythology*, p. 305.

40 *E.R.E.*, vol. IX, p. 818.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 825.

42 *Ibid.*, pp. 818 f.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 819 f.

44 Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation*, vol. I, pp. 62, 63.

served as cult objects. This view is accepted by Dr. J. N. Banerjea⁴⁵. Among *yantras* which are Śākta symbols to represent deities, the *trikoṇamaṇḍalam* represents the female organ⁴⁶.

To return to the question whether Rudra-Śiva is to be regarded as an ithyphallic deity or not. It has been said that there is textual and archæological evidence suggesting that he was not regarded as an ithyphallic deity. Certain epithets given to him such as *mahāliṅga*, *cāruliṅga*, *ūrdhvaliṅga* etc. have perhaps led certain scholars to think otherwise. It is to be pointed out in the first instance that it is not Rudra-Śiva in his anthropomorphic form that is generally worshipped. "Very rarely do we meet with anthropomorphic images of Śiva in the central shrines, and where they are seen, as in some of the temples of the Pallava period in South India, they occupy a position subordinate to the Liṅga"⁴⁷. It is stated in the texts (*Liṅga Purāṇa* ch. 3) that Śiva is *liṅga* and *aliṅga*. It is his creative power that is the *liṅga*⁴⁸. The accounts of the origin of the *liṅga* show either (1) that Śiva separated his creative power i.e. the *liṅga*, from himself, or (2) that the *liṅga* appeared as an independent body without it being stated that it was ever really a limb attached to the person of Śiva. The epithet *mahāliṅga* should therefore be interpreted not as Mahādeva with a large phallus but as the *liṅga* which is great, without beginning or end. *Ūrdhvaliṅga* means the upright or erect *liṅga*. Why the *liṅga* is in upright posture is explained: नित्येन ब्रह्मचर्येण लिङ्गमस्य सदा स्थितम् । ऋषयश्चैव देवाश्च गन्धर्वापरसस्तथा लिङ्गमस्या-र्चयन्ति स्म तच्चाप्युर्ध्वं समास्थितम् । (*Mahābhārata*, Droṇa P., ch. 201). Śiva is sometimes described as naked (*digvāsaḥ*, *nagnaḥ*, *Anuśāsana P.* ch. 14.), but this nakedness is not of erotic import; Śiva is naked, clad in panther skin (*Droṇa P.*, ch. 201),⁴ he is a frequenter of the cremation ground (*Anuś. P.*, ch. 17), he is mad (*ibid*), he is a night walker (*ibid*), he is a beggar. These epithets illustrate an aspect which

45 J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 186. Other scholars have suggested that these objects, specially the stone ones, might have been used as stone money or spindle whorl or served some architectural purpose while the small ones might have been used as amulets. We are inclined to take the same view.

46 *Sabdakalpadruma*, vol. I, p. 399.

47 T. A. G. Rao, *op. cit.*, vol. II, part i, p. 75.

48 *Liṅga Purāṇa*, ch. 17.

Rudra acquires in the later Vedas and in the sūtra literature. In some representations in art particularly under the aspect of destroyer (ugra forms) Śiva appears naked". We think therefore that the description of Rudra-Śiva as an ithyphallic deity is probably due to an incorrect conception of the character of the epic Rudra-Śiva and of the Vedic Rudra. The *ūrdhvalīṅga* or more correctly nudity in the artistic representations of Rudra-Śiva is indicative not of priapian but of his ascetic character as other attributes of his, if properly examined, will show. In fact the appearance of *Jaṭāmukuta* with nudity in a representation of Śiva is sufficient to dispel any doubt about his real character. Śiva is an ascetic, a *yogī*, *siddha yogī* (Anuśāsana P. ch. 17), a *mahā yogī* (Śānti P. ch. 289), a *brahmacārī* (Anuś. P. ch. 17), a *tapasvī mahātapā ghoratapa* i.e. intensely devoted to austerities, (*ibid*), etc. We can see the emergence of the ascetic Rudra, if we like to do so, through the Śatarudrīya and the Vṛātya hymns, but there does not appear to be anything in the antecedents of Rudra suggestive of ithyphallic character. Rudra had discarded his līṅga and retired to the Muñjavat for practising austerities. It is this discarded līṅga that became an object of worship.

As regards the point raised above that the stories of the origin of the līṅga in different texts would indicate that phallus worship had a scope for development as an independent cult we would refer first to the detached phalli of different types that have been discovered in India. Gopinatha Rao has dealt exhaustively in his work with the subject as discussed in several Śaivāgamas and Purāṇas. Some of these phalli are realistic in shape. There are others in which the

49 Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 178. Plate XLI, p. 179; XLII Figs. 1 & 2. It would appear that anthropomorphic representations of Śiva with the so-called *ūrdhvalīṅga* feature, that is, the phallus exposed have been regarded as ithyphallic. Thus the representation of a three headed deity on a gold coin of Huvīṣka is referred to as ithyphallic. (Gardner, *Catalogue*, p. 148, Pl. XXVIII, 16. referred to by Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 137). Banerjea writes "It may be noted that no other of the early coin representations of Śiva bears the *ūrdhvalīṅga* sign." Again, he says that this feature is common in sculptural representations of Śiva from the late Kushan period onwards. *Development of the Hindu Iconography*, pp. 137, 138. The representation referred to by Gardner has trīśūla, vajra, cakṛa and antelope or goat in the right hand Cp. representation in Rao in references given above vol. II, part I, pp. 178, 179, 309 etc. Nudity is a feature common in the representation of the ugra forms of Mahādeva.

shafts have faces engraved on them. These specimens are called mukhaliṅgas. A third type of phalli has inscriptions on them. Leaving aside for the present realistic specimens of the phallus we would refer first to the inscribed phalli and mukhaliṅgas. There are extant phalli which have both inscriptions and faces engraved on the shafts. The Bhita līṅga is a well known instance. Rao accepts R. D. Banerji's dating of the sculpture in the first century B. C. on the evidence of the palacography of the inscription and explains that the five faces, four at the corners and one at the top represent five aspects of Śiva⁵⁰. The interpretation of the inscription has been the subject of controversy to which it is not necessary to refer. It has been said that this sculpture might be a memorial column⁵¹. It is possible that the Bhita līṅga and other later inscribed phalli⁵² not falling into the class of *mukhaliṅgas* might have been votive offerings.⁵³ *Mukhaliṅgas* are held to be of a later date than realistic specimens of the phallus but the Bhita līṅga and the Gudimallam līṅga first brought to notice by Gopinatha Rao both belong to the class of *mukhaliṅgas* and the first has been dated in the first century B. C. and the second in the first or second century of the Christian era,⁵⁴ while sufficient data are not available for correctly dating the so-called early realistic specimens. Rao explains that in a *mukhaliṅga*, faces should be made on the *pūjābhāga* of a *sarvasama* līṅga and the number of faces should

50 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

51 J. N. Banerjee, 'The Phallic Emblem in Ancient and Mediaeval India' *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, June, 1935.

52 *Ibid.*

53 The inscribed phalli have parallels in the inscribed Babylonian kudrurs or boundary stones, some of which also contained engraved emblems and images of deities, thus falling into the class of the Bhita līṅga. *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. I, p. 566 f.

It is to be noted that the *mukhaliṅgas* have a parallel in the ancient Egyptian Dad pillars. These pillars represented a cult form of Osiris at Busiris. The local god was Anzety, a deity usually represented by a human head set on a pole. *Ibid.*, p. 333. A distant parallel at home is the Vṛṣakāṣṭha a wooden figure with carved figures at the top used in *śrāddha* among Hindus in Bengal. The post is generally of *bel* or *bakul* wood, four cubits high with the carved figure of a bull at the top. Its ostensible use is for tying to it the bull which is given away at the *śrāddha*.

54 Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

correspond to the number of doorways of the central shrine to which the side of the *linga* faces, and the fifth face should be on the top of the *linga*⁵⁵. Later specimens of *mukhalingas* (Pl. IX Figs. 1, 2, Pl. X Fig. 2; Pl. X Rao pp. 97, 98) show that this type had become a highly conventional one and probably it formed the next step to the rise of the conception of *Līṅgodbhava mūrti* in which *Siva* is represented as rising out of the *linga*, whole of his body above the knees being sculptured⁵⁶. Referring to the face engraved on the Gudimallam *linga* D. R. Bhandarkar writes that the artist felt it necessary to carve this figure in order to characterise it as a *Saiva* emblem⁵⁷. It has been suggested that this shows that the connection between phallicism and ritualistic practice of *Saivism* had not yet been definitely established⁵⁸. It is to be noted that in the case of the Gudimallam *linga* which exactly resembles a phallus the usual *piṇḍika* or *yoni* stone is lacking, the *linga* is set directly on the floor in a hole cut out in the form of a quadrangular ridge on the ground.⁵⁹

Two points that emerge from the above considerations are that representations of the phallic symbol with clearly recognisable *Saiva* emblems do not go back to a period earlier than the first or second century to which date the *Bhita* and Gudimallam *linga* have been assigned by several scholars and that these early representations show that the *yoni* stone had not yet become an integral part of the representation of the *linga*.

There are extant many specimens of phalli, realistic in shape held to be of early date and unassociated with any *Saiva* emblem, conventionalised phalli such as the *dhārā linga*, the *sahasra linga* etc. of late date⁶⁰, and representations of the phalli on coins dated in the second and third century B.C. and later with symbols associated with *Rudra-Siva* such as hills, trees etc.⁶¹ If early realistic phallic

55 Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 98.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 109, Pl. XIII.

57 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures* 1921, p. 20.

58 Banerjia, 'The Phallic Emblem' etc.

59 Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 96, Pl. VIII.

61 J. N. Banerjia, 'Siva and his Emblems on Early Indian Seals and Coins' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March 1940. The subject of emblems of *Siva* on early Indian coins and seals has been discussed by Dr. J. N. Banerjia in a

specimens unassociated with any known Śaiva emblem—could be approximately dated it would have been possible to form some idea on the strength of archaeological evidence about the time when the cult of Rudra-Śiva was still independent of the cult of the phallus. For obtaining such an idea we have to go back to a still earlier period than that to which the sculptures referred to above belong. Two kinds of evidence, one textual and the other archaeological, help us in this matter. The textual evidence consists in the well known references to the *śiṣṇadevāḥ* in the R̥gveda and the archaeological evidence is furnished by certain prehistoric finds resembling the phallus in the Indus Valley.

The Indus Valley specimens may be taken up first. There are a number of aniconic stone objects some of which resemble the conventional form of the liṅga. (Pl. XIV. 2, 4, 5: Pl. XIII. 3: Pl. CLV. 16—23 & 25—Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Valley Civilisation*, vols. I—III). Accounting for these specimens Marshall writes: “The only explanation applicable to them all is that they are sacred objects of some sort, the large ones serving as aniconic aglamata for cult purposes and the smaller ones as amulets to be carried on the person just as miniature liṅgas are commonly carried by the Śaivites today.”⁶² Referring to figures 4-6 in Pl. XIII and 3&7 in Pl. XIV, he, however, writes: “Though they resemble the Indian liṅgas they equally resemble the baetylic stones of Western Asia...The only reason for interpreting the Mohenjo Daro examples as phallic

paper (*I.H.Q.*, vol. XVI, No. 1 Śiva and his emblems on early Indian coins and seals. The specimens dealt with by him are detached phalli occurring sometimes with recognised Śaivite symbols such as trident, battle axe etc.; anthropomorphic representations of Śiva dating from the 1st century B.C. occurring with different symbols; one doubtful representation of Śiva as an androgynous deity, that is, half male and half female: theriomorphic representations of Śiva as a bull and finally representations of Śiva with female deities on two coins of Huviṣka. The majority of these specimens are dated hypothetically at 2nd or 3rd century B.C., specimens of detached phalli or liṅgas occurring earlier and in the Gupta period. The so-called early realistic specimen of liṅga unaccompanied by the image of Śiva perhaps refer to the time when the cult of the phallus had not yet come to be connected with the cult of Rudra-Śiva. This view is held by Dr. J. N. Banerjea in his paper ‘Phallic emblems in Ancient and Mediaeval India,’ *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, June, 1935.

⁶² Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

rather than baetylic is that their conical shape is conventionally associated with that of the *liṅga*. In reality, however this point is a negligible one, for nothing is more likely than that, as Śaivism developed, it absorbed the older baetylic worship and appropriated its symbols to phallic worship."⁶³ As the only reason for the interpretation of the Indus Valley specimens as phalli is regarded as negligible by Marshall, until better reasons are forthcoming for such interpretation the question may be regarded as an open question. As regards absorption of earlier baetylic stone-worship by Śaivism it may be observed firstly that though this may have been the case the discovery of baetylic stones supposed of sacred import, does not prove the existence of phallus worship among the chalcolithic Indus Valley people and secondly, that according to some scholars the origin of baetyls and phalli is different, baetyls representing "in a conventional fetish form the original divine mountain which became in time the origin of both altars and of iconic statues passing through gradations of rude shaping" while it was likely that pillars or wooden posts descended from sacred trees acquired a symbolic significance as phalli..⁶⁴ Reference may be made in this connection to the discovery of two objects by Sir Aurel Stein at Chalcolithic sites in Northern Baluchistan which have been claimed to be representations of *liṅga* and *yonī*⁶⁵. Even if this claim is conceded their religious import remains doubtful and specimens of this type cannot form the basis for any big theory regarding the religious ideas of the people that might have furnished them.

Śiṣṇadevāh occurs in VII. 21. 5. in the *R̥gveda* in which Indra is invoked to see that the *rākṣasas* do not molest the seers and the *śiṣṇadevāh* do not interfere with their sacrifice. In X. 99, 3, it is said that Indra plunders riches from enemy cities with hundred gates and overwhelms the *śiṣṇadevāh* by his prowess. *Śiṣṇadevāh* has been explained as phallus worshippers. The traditional explanation given by Yāska and Sāyana which is different from the above explanation is that *śiṣṇadevāh* means men addicted to sensual enjoyment.

From the above considerations we come to the following conclusions: the discovery of a number of phalli with conical shape, very much like phalli in the Indus Valley and the references to phallus

63 *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 61.

64 Hogarth, *E.R.E.*, vol. I, p. 143.

65 Marshall, *op. cit.*, Pl.XIII-1, Pl. XIII-7.

worship in the *R̥gveda* prove the independent existence of phallus worship in prehistoric India: the non-occurrence of the image of Siva on the *liṅgas* of the early post-Christian period shows that the phallus cult had not yet come to be connected with the Rudra cult.; the early *mukhaliṅgas* and inscribed phalli show that the phallus cult had become associated with the cult of Rudra-Siva.

We have seen that in the *Mahābhārata* it is specifically stated that it is the *liṅga* of Rudra that is worshipped. This raises an important question: why should the cult of the phallus be assimilated with the cult of Rudra? The object of *liṅga* worship as explained by Upamanyu is, we have seen to obtain offspring. But this *liṅga* worship is a mixed product, it is combined with the worship of the *yoni* as well. There is not a single trait in the character of Rudra in the *R̥gveda* and later Vedic literature which would even remotely suggest that it was any part of his function to grant offspring.

In the *R̥gveda* Rudra is more prominently a fierce, wrathful violent god⁶⁶. Malevolence is frequently attributed to him and hymns addressed to him chiefly express fear of his terrible shafts and deprecates his wrath⁶⁷. He is specially connected with death and destruction. He is prayed not to kill the old among his worshippers, the young, the embryo in the womb and their parents not to inflict any injury on them, their offspring, their kith and kin⁶⁸. He is a killer of cattle and men⁶⁹. Among good points in his character are his healing powers⁷⁰, protection of cattle⁷¹, wisdom and beneficence⁷². The later Vedas do not redeem these gloomy aspects. In the *Śatarudriya* hymn he is described as a robber, cheat, lord of pilferers etc⁷³. In the *Atharva Veda* Rudra attacks men with fever, cough and poison⁷⁴. He is connected with birds of evil omen⁷⁵, with howling dogs⁷⁶, with serpents⁷⁷. In the later Vedic literature

66 *R̥gveda*, II, 33. 9. 10.

68 *R̥gveda* I, 114. 7. 8.

70 *RV.*, II, 33. 2. 12. 4: VII, 46. 2.

71 *Ibid.*, I, 114. 9.

72 *Ibid.*, I, 114. 4. 3: II, 33. 7: VI, 49. 10.

73 *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, XVI, 20. 21.

74 *Atharva Veda*, II, 2. 22.: VI, 9. 2.

75 *Ibid.*, XI, 22. 11.: IV, 28. 4. etc.

76 *Ibid.*, XI, 2. 30.

67 Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 75.

69 *R̥gveda*, I, 114. 10.

77 *Ibid.*, VI, 56. 2. 3.

he retains the same character. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* he is referred to as a great, black being who appears in the place of sacrifice and claims all that is left over as his own⁷⁸. Any direct mention of his name is to be avoided⁷⁹. In the Sūtras his harmful aspects receive more prominence than his benign aspect. The śulagava sacrifice is performed to propitiate Rudra and the inauspicious character of this sacrifice is indicated by the prohibition on the bringing of the remains of the sacrificed bull into the village⁸⁰. His hosts the Gaṇas attack men and beasts with death and disease and bloody entrails of victims in sacrifice are offered to appease them⁸¹. Thus we find that strange, outlandish features are given to Rudra in the later Vedas and he is brought into connection with bhūtas, nāgas, vrātyas, niśādas, thieves, robbers, wood, hills, lonely places etc.: in the Sūtras he is terrible, injurious, inauspicious, connected with old trees, cemeteries, ruined places, cross roads etc. and strange modes of worship are prescribed in his honour. In the *Brāhmaṇas* he partly preserves this character and is the lord of mountains and god of incantation, robbers and low people. In the Upaniṣads there are traces of these connections but at the same time as Bhandarkar writes referring to the *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, it "represents the furthest point in the development of the idea of Rudra-Siva as a god worshipped by the Indian Aryans."⁸² But in the literature which covers the period from the Ṛgveda to the *Mahābhārata* there appears to be no mention so far as is known, of any reference to śiṣṇadevāh or any indication of the existence of phallus worship or any mention of the priapic form of Rudra among all the different classes of non-Aryan peoples brought into connection with Rudra.

Thus it is found that the antecedents of Rudra do not explain why the phallus cult should have come to be associated with Rudra. Taking it for granted that the phallus cult existed independently

⁷⁸ *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, V, 14.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 34-7.

⁸⁰ *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, IV, 8. 9. 40: *Pars. Gr. S.*, III, 8. *Hiranyakeśin Gr. S.*, II, 8. 9.: *Āpastamba Gr. S.*, XIX, 13-20, etc.

⁸¹ *Sāṅkhyāyana Śrauta S.*, IV, 19.

⁸² Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and other minor Religious Systems*, pp. 106 f. *Svetāśvatara Up.* (iv. 11. v. 2) refers to the god Iśāna as presiding over every *yonī*. From the context it would appear that the reference is to the philosophical doctrine of God as the source of all creation.

of the Rudra cult in the Vedic period what was it that happened in the epic age resulting not only in making the worship of the phallus an integral part of the Rudra cult but also modifying largely the character of the ancient cult ?

The great Bharatan epic unfolds before us an India which may be compared with a vast sheet of water into which a thousand streams have poured their contributions meandering their courses through unexplored regions. In plain language, there crop up suddenly, as it were, numerous new cults and new deities and old deities and cults appear with new accretions of which the sources are not readily recognisable. Thus the old cult of Rudra appears in the *Mahābhārata* with the extraneous phallus cult grafted on to it and the mighty Vedic god feared by the gods and men reappears as an androgynous deity granting offspring, delighting in dancing and singing.⁸³

What made the cult of the old Rudra awe-inspiring and forbidding, specially susceptible as it were to such an unexpected change ? It is our opinion that the assimilation of the phallus cult with the old Vedic cult of Rudra is due to the previous association of the latter cult with the mother-goddess cult.

It is not necessary to describe here in detail how and through what successive stages the Rudra cult came to be associated with the mother-goddess cult. In the famous 125th hymn in the tenth maṇḍala in the R̥gveda known as the Devīsūkta, Rudra is associated with the unnamed goddess who is the great Mother of men and the gods and the supreme power in the universe. Rudra is the consort of Umā and Ambikā in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*.⁸⁴ A circumstance which further facilitated amalgamation of the Rudra cult with the

83 The old, violent and destructive character of the Vedic Rudra persists in the *Mahābhārata*. He is the slayer of animals, the battle ground of death is his playground. Droṇa, ch. 19. He is terrible-looking, demoniacal. Sautika P. ch. 7. Śānti P. ch. 284 etc. He is wrathful: Virabhadra and Jvara were created by him. Śānti P. ch. 282. He is connected with serpents.—Śānti P. ch. 284. He is the lord of cattle. Anus. P. ch. 284. Anuśana P. ch. 17. Several other disreputable epithets given to him have been referred to above.

His fondness for music and dance is referred to in different places. He is *nityapriyah nartakah, nartanasilaya, gitavāditrapalina* etc. Śānti P. ch. 284: Anus. P. ch. 17.

84 *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, X, 1. 8.

mother-goddess cult was Rudra's identification with Agni.⁸⁵ Agni's flames mentioned in the *Muṇḍaka Upanisad*⁸⁶ become later Rudra's consort and Kātyāyāni, Kanyā Kumāri, Durgi or Durgā, well known names of the Great Mother and Rudra's consort, occur in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* in verses addressed to Agni.⁸⁷ Svāhā connected with Agni in the Ṛgveda⁸⁸ is later represented as the daughter of Dakṣa who became the mother Skanda by Agni⁸⁹ a legend, later transferred to Umā and Rudra.

The first fruit of the amalgamation of the Rudra cult, the mother-goddess cult and the cult of the phallus is appropriation of the phallic form by Rudra and transformation of the old god of death and destruction and storm into a god of procreation as Māhadeva or Śiva in the Epic. As a god of procreation he grants offspring; as a god of procreation he appears in the symbolic form of the liṅga. As the liṅga by itself is ineffective there is most appropriately the symbol of the Devī, that is Umā, associated with the symbol of Rudra. The liṅga worship propagated with ardent sectarian zeal in the *Mahābhārata* is the worship of the synthetic representation of the two principles of life.⁹⁰ This new

85 *Ṛgveda*, I, 27. 10. The subject is discussed fully elsewhere by the writer. See 'Mother-goddess conception in the Vedic Literature' in *Indian Culture*, vol. VIII, nos. 1. 2. 1941-1942.

86 *Muṇḍaka Upanisad*, I, 2. 4.

87 *Tait. Āraṇyaka*, X, i. 7.

88 *ṚV.* VIII, 63. 5.

89 *Mahābhārata*, Vana P. ch. 223.

90 One of Huviṣka's coins represent two figures, male and female. A unique coin of the same ruler shows the same two figures, the female being described as Onuma. She stands facing Śiva holding a lotus flower in her right hand. Candragupta-Kumara-devi coins feature a goddess (Ambikā) holding cornucopiae. Female figures on some of the Kolhapur series of Andhra coins are interpreted as representations of Durgā. J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 133-134 & 141.

The female symbol of yoni represents the śakti or prakṛti without which the liṅga representing Māhadeva is ineffective. शक्तिं विना महेशानि प्रेतत्वं तस्य निश्चितम् । शक्तिसंयोगमात्रेण कर्मकर्ता सदाशिवः । (*Liṅgārcaṇa Tantra*). The Māhadevī is represented by the altar or pedestal लिङ्गवेदी महादेवो लिङ्गसाक्षान्महेश्वरः । तथो प्रपूजान्नित्यं देवी देवश्च पूजितो । (*Liṅga Purāṇa* quoted by *Prāṇatoṣiṇi*). The Dhruvebera in the Śaiva temples is the liṅga surmounted upon the yoni or piṇḍika. The piṇḍika is also called the pīṭha. (Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 56).

synthetic cult unknown in earlier India and unknown elsewhere is propagated by the sage Upamanyu.⁹¹

The real significance of this new synthetic cult has been missed by some scholars in their suggestions regarding the origin of the epic liṅga worship. According to Keith "In the later Śiva there are many traces of conceptions associated with the vegetation spirit and his phallic form is one which is doubtless condemned by the Ṛgveda but which doubtless remained popular among the aborigines."⁹² Criticising Lassen's view Hopkins writes that the usual theory is that śiṣṇa worship is the savage cult of the wild tribes while phallicism is Brahmanical. "But I do not know of any savage tribe that were distinguished by the use of this emblem in the epic, while Śiva was a god invoked for procreative purposes" and as such he was likely "to become symbolised among a people never very shy of sexual matters. It may be that the usual theory is right but it lacks confirmation."⁹³ According to him Śivaism in the epic was essentially phallic in its outward form "and as such was deeply rooted in the religious conscience of a people to whom we may venture perhaps to ascribe such a form of worship even in the time of the Ṛgveda, although the signs thereof in great parts have been suppressed". According to him Śivaite phallic worship was due rather to late Greek influence than to any native wild tribe.⁹⁴ Describing the Austro-Asiatic origin of the word "liṅga" Prof. Przyluski writes, "The phallic cults, of which we know the importance in the ancient religions of Indo-China are generally considered to have been derived from Indian Śaivism. It is more probable that the Aryans have borrowed from the aborigines of India the cult of liṅga as well as the name of the idol"⁹⁵.

91 References have been given above regarding phallus worship in ancient Rome. Liberia, the Roman goddess of fertility, and identified with Venus was represented in the temples by the image of the female organ. Augustus De Civ Dei vi 9, quoted in *E.R.E.*, vol. IX, p. 82. No synthesis has been attempted. [The ancient Egyptian Tao symbol was more in use as an amulet than as a cult-object.

92 A. B. Keith, *The Religion and the Philosophy of the Vedas*, vol. 31 p. 148.

93 E. W. Hopkins, *The Epic Mythology*, p. 225.

94 Hopkin, *The Religions of India*, p. 414.

95 Przyluski, *Non-Aryan loans in Pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian*, (Tr. by P. C. Bagchi. Calcutta University), pp. 41, 15.

It may be pointed out briefly that neither Keith nor Hopkins has taken note of the clear and important fact that what we find in the epic was the result of prolonged operation of various influences of unascertained origin: a pre-Vedic autochthonous phallus cult was assimilated with the cult of a R̥g-Vedic deity whose non-orthodox affinities, later acquired, have attracted attention and roused doubts regarding his origin, the process being started and facilitated by the cult of the mother-goddess which gradually came to affiliate itself to the Rudra cult in the later Vedic period. Other important points which may be taken into consideration in connection with this composite cult of the liṅga are development of certain emblems e.g. trident, battle-axe etc. appropriated by the cult, connection of Rudra-Siva with hills, trees etc, affiliation of the bull cult with the cult of Rudra-Siva and its significance etc.

The propagator of this new, synthetic phallic cult was the sage Upamanyu. He had his hermitage in the Himalayas. His father was the sage Vyāghrapāda and Dhaumya was his brother. Upamanyu says that he was initiated into the cult by his mother. "Many were the forms of the god according to wise men, many and strange were his abodes and numerous were his favours" she said⁹⁶. She sang a hymn to the god and asked her son to worship him भजतु महादेवं ततः प्राप्ससि चेप्सितम्।⁹⁷ To Indra he explained the significance of the emblem of Rudra as it had been explained to him by his mother, माता पूर्वस्याख्यातम्।⁹⁸ Now though many female sages are famous in ancient history Upamanyu's mother who is thus credited with the propagation of a new cult by his son remains unknown. Nevertheless, it is to be presumed that there were good grounds for her son acknowledging his debt of gratitude to his mother. It is not told to which part of India Upamanyu belonged. Evidently his family was closely associated with the middle country because Dhaumya, his brother, was the family priest of the Pāṇḍavas. One Kāmboja Aupamānya is mentioned as a teacher in the *Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa*. Kāmboja means a native of Kamboja. He was a pupil of Saungayani Madragara.⁹⁹ Upamanyu was possibly a native

96 *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana P. ch. 14 v. 135.

97 *Ibid.*, v. 165.

98 *Ibid.*, v. 228.

99 Weber, *Indische Studien*, iv. 72. quoted in *Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 149.

of Kamboja because a descendant of his (Kāmboja Aupamanyava) is described as a native of the same country. The Kāmbojas were settled to the north-west of the Indus and were possibly connected with the Madras.¹⁰⁰ They are mentioned early by Yāska according to whom their speech differed from the Aryan,¹⁰¹ and they were probably a branch of the Bhojas.¹⁰² In the Sabhā Parvan the Kāmbojas are named together with the Vālhikas and Daradas as northern peoples defeated by Arjuna.¹⁰³ Prof Lévi would identify Kamboja with Kapisa. "Kamboja and Kapisa seem to be two attempts to render the same foreign word."¹⁰⁴ Kapisa included the whole of Kafiristan and the valleys of Ghorband and Panjshir while the ancient Kamboja was roughly between the Punjab and Kafiristan. Rajapura, home of the Kāmbojas (*MBh.* VII) has been identified with Rajaori in South Kashmir. From various accounts it is known that the worship of Rudra-Siva was very popular in this country. Early Greek writers in their accounts refer to the popularity of the worship of Rudra-Siva whom they identified with Dionysus in these parts. Among the worshippers of Bacchus were the Gandaridae.¹⁰⁵ Rudra-Siva is said to have arisen in Gandhara in a Mahābhārata hymn.¹⁰⁶ *Munda* or "shaved heads" is the description given to the Kāmbojas in the Mahābhārata¹⁰⁷ and Rudra-Siva is often given the epithet *munda* in the same text.¹⁰⁸ This practice of the Kāmbojas was also known in the time of Pāṇini¹⁰⁹. The Kāmbojas were brought under Buddhist influences along with Yonas and others during the reign of Aśoka. (mentioned in the Rock Edict XII). The Siboi, a tribe defeated by Alexander's generals who were clad in animal skins and shaved their heads were probably worshippers of Rudra. Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury suggests that the Siboi were the Siva mentioned in the R̥gveda (vii. 15. 7) who were hostile to Sudas¹¹⁰. How strong a hold the cult of

100 Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. II, p. 123.

101 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 138.

102 Sylvain Lévi, *Pre-Dravidian and Pre-Aryan in India* (Tr. by P. C. Bagchi)

p. 123.

103 *Mahābhārata* Sabhā P. ch. 27.

104 *Pre-Aryan etc.*, p. 120.

105 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 189.

106 *Mbh.*, Anuśāsana P. ch. 17.

107 *Ibid.*, Vana P. ch. 5; Droṇa P. ch. 119.

109 Lévi, *Pre-Aryan etc.*, p. 87.

108 *Ibid.*, Droṇa P. ch. 201.

110 Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 204.

Rudra-Siva had on this part of India is proved further by the series of Kushan coins as well as Kunninda and Audumbara coins which illustrate many aspects of the cult and many conceptions of the god and his attributes. Wema Kadphises' coins in particular testify to the great devotion to Maheśvara of the king, who describes himself as a Māheśvara by faith.¹¹¹

From Alexander's invasion to the days of the later Kushans is a long period and literary, archaeological and numismatic evidences testify to the prevalence of the worship of Rudra-Siva in the northern provinces of ancient India. Buddhistic influence was predominant in these areas and was also the channel through which wave after wave of new ethnic elements poured into the plains of India. Constantly exposed to outside influences these areas were also the place where indigenous ideas and things were liable to undergo involuntary transformations. In the absence of reliable data no definite conclusion is possible but the Kamboja affinities of the sage Upamanyu the propagator of a new synthetic cult of the Liṅga and his admission that he was initiated into the new religion by his mother should be given due weight in enquiries regarding the origin of the epic liṅga worship.¹¹²

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI

111 J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 124.

112 Referring to the practice of appointment of *Śivācāryas* who were guardians of liṅgas established in different places in Cambodia (ancient Kamboja in Further India) in the 6th century A.C. as laid down in the Stok Kak Thom inscription Dr. Bagchi explains that the succession of the *Śivācāryas* was determined according to *mātrvamśa*. P. C. Bagchi, *Studies in Tantras*, Calcutta University, p. 18: (This practice was probably borrowed from India. One is tempted to draw the inference that the worship of 'the liṅga arose probably, in a matriarchal society and such an inference would explain sage Upamanyu's admission, but there is no evidence to support such a theory.

The Kāraṇḍa Vyūha: Its Metrical Version

The *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha* is a Mahāyāna Sūtra mainly consecrated to the glorification of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and his exploits for the deliverance of beings. The work exists in two versions, one in prose¹ and the other in verse.² The subject-matter of both the versions is more or less the same.

The prose text consists of two sections (*nirvyūhas*), each section containing in their turn several chapters (*prakaraṇas*). The first section describes the activities of the Avalokiteśvara in the Avīci hell to purify the beings and gives an estimate of his manifold merits. Like most of the Mahāyāna Sūtras, the text begins with 'Evaṃ mayā śrutam' (Thus have I heard) etc. The gist of the first section of the prose Kāraṇḍa Vyūha is as follows: While the Blessed One (Bhagavā) was sojourning in the Jetavana with a large number of Bodhisattvas, Devas, Nāgas and others, a ray of divine light came and flooded the whole of the universe and made all the objects around distinctly visible. Then the Bodhisattva named Sarva-Nivaraṇa-Viṣkambhin requested the Blessed One to explain the causes of that divine illumination. The Lord said that the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara had entered into Avīci hell to deliver the beings and thence was coming the divine light. The Blessed One continuing his discourse narrated how the Avalokiteśvara was redeeming the down-faced creatures (*adhomukha-sattva*), liberating the demon-king Bali, removing poverty and affliction of the Brahmin Suṇḍala who was once a devaputra (god), saving the life of the merchant Siṃhala from the clutches of the Rākṣasīs, delivering innumerable worms and insects at Vārāṇasī and so on.

Section II of the prose *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha* is called 'Maheśvara-nirvyūha' since it describes the part played by the Avalokiteśvara to enlighten the god

1 The prose text has been published by Satyavrata Sāmaśrami with its Bengali translation, Calcutta 1873.

2 The metrical version of the text is not yet published. See Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, 2. ed. Paris, 1876, pp. 196 f.; R. L. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, pp. 95 f.; Bendall, *Catalogue of Mss. in the Cambridge University Library*, pp. 9 f.; H. P. Shastri, *Catalogue of Mss. in the Durbar Library Nepal*, p. 89.

Maheśvara and his consort Umā Devī. Next follows a detailed enumeration of the glory of the hexa-syllabic *mantra* (*Saḍakṣarī vidyā*): *Om maṇi padme hum*. A large part in the later section of the prose text is occupied by the glorification of this well-known mystic knowledge (*Saḍakṣarī vidyā*); and the rest consists of a small chapter on Dhāraṇi or magic formula viz., *om cūle cūle cūnye svāhā* etc. which is said to have been recited by seven crores of perfectly enlightened Tathāgatas. Lastly while enumerating the merits of the Kāraṇḍa Vyūha itself, the Blessed One made a prophecy regarding the future decay of the religion and he predicted that the bhikṣusaṃgha would fall into a degenerate state 300 years after his demise and the bhikṣus at that time would become demoralised and live like householders with wives and children, grossly deviated from the path of virtue.³

The metrical version of the text is entitled: *Āryāvalokiteśvara-guṇa-kāraṇḍa-vyūha-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra-rāja* (the king of the Mahāyāna sūtras known as the exhaustive enumeration of the casket of merits of the noble Avalokiteśvara). The work remains unpublished. An unedited Ms. of the work is in the keep of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Hodgson Collection No. B 27) and copies of this Ms. are also to be found at Paris, India Office Library, Cambridge University Library and at the State Library of Nepal. The work is entirely composed in verse and consists of 18 prakaraṇas (chapters) with about 4,500 ślokaś mostly written in Anuṣṭubha and occasionally in Upajāti and Sragdharā meters. As stated above, the metrical version has semblance with the prose text as regards its subject matter. But unlike the prose Kāraṇḍa Vyūha Guṇa-kāraṇḍa Vyūha or the metrical version is preceded by the dialogues between Jayaśrī and Jinaśrī-rāja on the one hand and the king Aśoka and his preceptor Upagupta on the other. The narrative does not come to the readers directly; only after having passed through a number of intervening stories, the original and principal narrator Śākya-muni is met with. Jayaśrī, an enlightened Buddha was requested by the Bodhisattva Jinaśrī-rāja to speak something on the adoration of the Tri-ratna. Jayaśrī told that, on the same subject, Venerable Upagupta was similarly asked by king Aśoka, in the monastery of Kukkuṭārāma and

³ See also *Rāṣṭrapāla Pariprechā*, ed. by L. Finot (Bib. Buddhica II). p. ix ff., 28 ff.

Upagupta explained to the king the significance and glory of the Triratna and also instructed the king regarding the observance of Poṣadha or Upoṣadha ceremony. Upagupta, in his turn, was said to have gained knowledge about those things from the Lord himself who had spoken to the Bodhisattva Sarva-nivaraṇa-viṣkambhī about the perfection of the saint Avalokiteśvara. And Lord Śākymuni, the principal narrator, said that at the beginning of things appeared the Ādibuddha (or the Buddha in the beginning), as Svayāmbhū and from his spirit was born Avalokiteśvara and from Avalokiteśvara himself again arose the gods such as the Sun, the Moon, Maheśvara, Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa and Sarasvatī. It was only after infinite and prolonged efforts that the Avalokiteśvara had been able to reach the highest point of meditation. His form was subtle; he had neither attributes nor form but when he took any form, it was the most immense, multiple and the grandest of all; thus he manifested himself with eleven heads, hundred thousand hands and innumerable eyes and so on. He was thus the reflex or spiritual manifestation of the Ādibuddha and the personification of Power and an All Compassionate One looking down from on high with kindly glances. The means he adopted for the salvation of beings were diverse and his virtues were manifold.⁴

Chapter I of the Guṇakāraṇḡa Vyūha is devoted to the adoration of the noble Triratna, the Buddhist Trinity of Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha (Śrī-Triratna-bhajanānuśaṃsāvadāna). It is followed by an account of the Avalokiteśvara's exploits in the Avīci hell and in the Pretaloka, viz. purifying the infernal beings, pacification of the perpetually thirsty and hungry Pretas and his admonition to the King of Death (Avīci-saṃśodhana-śrī dharma-rājābhodbhana). Chapter III describes the origin of the gods with Maheśvara as their chief (Śrī-Maheśvaraḡi deva-samutpādana). Ch. IV relates the deliverance of all types of beings and the propagation of the Noble Doctrine (Sarvākāra-sarva-sattva-prabodhana-saddharma-saṃcāraṇa) and it is followed by an account of the conversion of terrible demons and their training in the cultivation of Bodhi and the liberation of the down-faced beings by transporting them to the Sukhāvatī heaven (Durdānta-dānava-prabodhana bodhicaryāvatāraṇa and adho-mukha sattvodhāraṇa), contained in Chs. V & VI respectively. The purification of the quadrupeds and the human beings in the Rūpa-

4. Cf. *Saddharma-puṇḡarika*, Ch. XXIV.

mayī-bhūmi (Rūpamayī-bhūmi-catuṣpāda-puruṣoddhāraṇa); deliverance of the demon-king Bali-rāja from sufferings together with the members of his family who were all passing a captive life in the Nether world and establishing the king on the path of Bodhi (Bali-sambodhana-bodhi-mārgāvatāraṇa); establishing the Yakṣas and the Rākṣasas of the dark-land on the path of virtue by reciting to them the Kāraṇḍa Vyūha (Tamondhakāra-bhūmi-yakṣa-rākṣasa-paribodhana-saddharmāvatāraṇa); recovering a devaputra (god) named Sukuṇḍala, in the heaven of the Pure Ones from poverty and affliction by offering him immense riches and fortune (Śuddhāvāsika-Sukuṇḍala-devaputroddhāraṇa); training the Rākṣasīs and delivering them from the sin of killing lives in the Island of Siṃhala (Siṃhalaadvīpa-Rākṣasī-paribodhanoddhāraṇa); delivering the groups of worms and insects from the filths at Vārāṇasī (Vārāṇasī-kṛmī-kītoddhāraṇa); Avalokiteśvara's visit to the Magadha country and his instruction to the people who used to take at that time the flesh of each other (Māgadha-sattva-prabodhana), were the exploits of the Avalokiteśvara undertaken by him for the redemption of the fallen and the imperilled. Each time the Avalokiteśvara was said to have appeared before the Blessed One to report to him of these exploits. In short, this is the story regarding the achievements of the Avalokiteśvara in the different regions which are to be found related in Chs. VII to XIV.

Chapter XV relates the legend of Prince Siṃhala and the Rākṣasīs and the part played by Avalokiteśvara in saving the life of Siṃhala (Siṃhala-sārvavāhoddhāraṇa). This Siṃhala was none other than the Blessed One himself in one of his previous births. As a leader of 500 merchants, Siṃhalarāja started for Ceylon; his ship wrecked in the middle of the ocean but he managed to reach the shore of the Island of Siṃhala (Ceylon) together with the other merchants. The Island at that time was inhabited by Rākṣasīs who assumed the forms of beautiful young girls and welcomed the merchants as their husbands. The Rākṣasīs used to devour them one by one every night. One day Avalokiteśvara appeared in the form of a winged-horse and saved the merchant Siṃhala.⁵

Ch. XVI again gives an account of Avalokiteśvara's works of salvation for all beings and establishing them on the Path of Sambodhi (supreme

5 Cf. *Valābassa Jātaka*, No. 196; *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 120, 524 ff.; and *Naya-dhamma kahao* (Jñātadharma-kathā) IX.

enlightenment). This chapter also gives an account of the part played by him in enlightening the god Maheśvara and his wife Umādevī. It also describes the efficacy of the six-lettered formula: Oṃ Maṇi Padme Huṃ.

The last two chapters, Chs. XVII and XVIII lay down the merits and glorification of the text Guṇa-kāraṇḍa itself, and the Blessed One's admonition to the bhikṣus regarding the right conduct and instructions to them in regard to association with virtuous people (Śikṣā-samvaroddeśa). Finally, Jayaśrī the first speaker after having finished the narrative which he had learnt from the Master himself, added some more stanzas on the advantages of reading, hearing and reciting the Kāraṇḍa Vyūha and Jina Śrī-rāja expressed his appreciation for all that he had heard from Jayaśrī.

The colophon of the text describes the Sūtra as being given out by Jayaśrī to Jinaśrī-rāja in reply to enquiries made by the latter (Jinaśrī-rāja paripṛṣṭa Jayaśrī-saṃprabhāṣita- Śrīmad-Āry-Āvalokiteśvara-Guṇa-kāraṇḍa Vyūha).

Regarding Jayaśrī and Jinaśrī-rāja nothing is known to us, but king Aśoka and his preceptor Upagupta were famous personages who lived considerably long time after the demise of Śākyamuni and in course of time a tradition had grown up in the North centering round them. The legends in the Avadānamālās are given out in the form of a conversation as having been held between king Aśoka and Upagupta; Upagupta imparts his instructions to king Aśoka by way of narrating stories in the style of the Purāṇas.⁶ Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara exalted in the Kāraṇḍa Vyūha and in praise of whom this work was composed, was not held in such great popularity in the earlier Mahāyāna texts. The *Saddharmapūṇḍarīka*, an early Mahāyāna text, contains a chapter on the glorification of Avalokiteśvara but this chapter decidedly belongs to a late period.⁷ Also the Hexa-syllabic formula: Oṃ Maṇi Padme Huṃ, the authorship of which is attributed to Avalokiteśvara by the Tibetans, was unknown to the early compilers of Mahāyāna Sūtras. In the 7th century A.D. the worship of Avalokiteśvara reached its climax. Fa hien and Hiuen-Tsang speak of him in their Records with

6 Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 291.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 303.

much reverence. His worship was introduced in Tibet during the 7th century A.D., when the king Srong-tsan-gam-po was proclaimed as an incarnate of the Avalokiteśvara himself.⁸ Next the legend of the first settlement of Indians in the the Island of Sīṃhala (previously called Tāmraparṇa or Tāmradvīpa), which is quite different from that related in the Mahāvamsa,⁹ has been modified in the Kāraṇḍa Vyūha to suit the purpose of the author, namely, to exalt the supernatural powers of Avalokiteśvara. All these facts tend to differentiate the Kāraṇḍa Vyūha as a whole from the earlier Mahāyāna Sūtras, and prove it to be of later origin. Alexander Csoma de Körös believes the work to be posterior to 10th century A.D.¹⁰

A Chinese translation of the work is known to have been done between 980 and 1001 A.D.¹¹ Mention is found of two Chinese translations of a work under the name of 'Ratna-kāraṇḍa-vyūha Sūtra,' done by Dharmarakṣa in 270 A.D. and by Guṇabhadra between 435 and 468 A.D.¹² but it is not known whether these are the translations of the prose text of Kāraṇḍa Vyūha. There is a Ratnakaraṇḍaka sūtra in the Tibetan Kāngyur besides the Kāraṇḍa Vyūha, but these two works appear to be different from each other. Rockhill maintains that the Tibetan version of the prose Kāraṇḍa Vyūha was done sometime about 616 A.D.¹³ but a tradition maintained in Tibet holds that the text existed from the time of the mythical king Lha-tho-tho-ri who is approximately placed about 427 A.D.¹⁴

The Guṇakāraṇḍa Vyūha or the metrical version of the work which is more mythological in nature and contains later Mahāyāna ideas is not to be found in either the Chinese or the Tibetan collections. According to Csoma de Körös, the translation of Kāngyur was completed by the 13th cent.; it is probable that the prose version was translated between 600 and 1200 A. D. and the metrical version took its final shape after

8 See, A. Getty, Chapter on Avalokiteśvara in *Gods of Northern Buddhism*.

9 *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. VII.

10 Körös, *Analyse du Kandjour*, vol. vii, nos. 4 & 5, p. 243.

11 B. Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, Oxford, 1883, No. 782.

12 Nanjio, Nos. 168 & 169 respectively.

13 W. W. Rockhill, *Tibetan Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 212; *ERE*, II, p. 259.

14 Bu-ston, *History of Buddhism*, translated by Obermiller, pp. 183, 184; *ERE*, II, p. 259.

the 13th century, hence it was not included in the collection of Tibetan translations. Exclusion of Guṇakāraṇḍa Vyūha from the Kāngyur shows that the metrical version was posterior in date to that of the prose; and some scholars even go so far as to opine that it was composed in Nepal and was not a canonical text in the beginning.¹⁵

The style of the Guṇakāraṇḍa Vyūha reminds one of the nature of the Purāṇas, the spirit of which is to be perceived in every line of the work. In order to meet the exigencies of metre, the verses are composed on the analogy of Prākṛit in some cases and irregularities of grammar are well marked. The exterior form and structure of the work is unlike the other Māhāyāna sūtras which generally begin with "Evam mayā śrutam" (Thus have I heard) etc. As in the Purāṇas, the story does not present itself directly to the readers and is without any preamble. On the contrary, it reaches the readers through the intermediary of several narrators. This is one of the most important characteristics which distinguish the metrical from the prose version.*

PRABHAS CHANDRA MAJUMDER

¹⁵ Hodgson, *Essays*.

* Read at the XIVth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference.

Authorship of the Dhvanyāloka and Ānandavardhana's Date and Works

II

In addition to what has been stated in the previous section,* we may notice in support of the same conclusion other points made out by Dr. A. Sankaran.¹¹

1. While commenting on the *Kārikā* II 5 *pradhāne'nyatra* etc., Ānandavardhana explains the portion of the *Kārikā* '*Alaṅkāro rasādiriti me matib*—with these words '*rasādiralaṅkārasya viṣaya iti māmakinab pakṣab*—thus identifying himself with the author or the *Kārikās*. Similarly in explaining the *Kārikā* II 22, he says '*ityasmākam vivakṣitah*'.

2. The habit of splitting their own *kārikās* (*khaṇḍikṛtya paṭhanam*) and commenting on them in parts has been in vogue among writers like Mammāṭa and Udayanācārya. It would on the other hand argue the identity of authorship as the writers themselves treat the portions of the *kārikās* as headlines of paragraphs or sections in the *ṛtti*.¹²

From the above, it will emerge that Abhinavagupta's testimony does not favour the theory of duality of authorship. It now remains to be considered how far the other arguments advanced in support of that theory are cogent. The next argument of the upholders of the theory may be stated as follows:—"The system, as given in its bare outline by the *Kārikākāra* in his concise verses has been considerably expanded, revised, and modified by the *ṛttikāra*, and many problems not discussed or even hinted at by the former are elaborately treated of by the latter.....Indeed, it seems that Ānandavardhana in his classical *ṛtti* attempted to build up a more or less complete system of Poetics upon the loosely joined ideas and materials supplied by the brief *kārikās*; and his success was probably so marvellous that in course of time the *kārikākāra* receded to the background, completely

* See *IHQ.*, XXIV, p. 194.

¹¹ Some aspects of Literary Criticism, p. 51 ff.

¹² Vide, Contra (1) S. K. De, *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta University) vol. IX, p. 17.

(2) S. P. Bhattacharya, *Proceedings of the Sixth Oriental Conference*, p. 615.

overshadowed by the more important figure of his formidable expounder.....A bare margin of two generations between the *kārikākāra* and the *ṛtti* does not seem to be enough to make room for a period of scholastic exposition of the former, of which undoubted traces are preserved to us in the few memorial verses—*parikara-śloka*s (pp. 34, 130, 137, 147, 163) *saṅgraha-śloka*s (pp. 87, 223) and *saṅkṣepa-śloka*s (pp. 44, 74, 243)—incorporated by Ānandavardhana in his *ṛtti*.⁴³

Of course it cannot be contested that there is considerable expansion, revision and modification of the *kārikās* in the *ṛtti*. But in no way can this fact warrant the conclusion that the two portions should have been the work of different authors. In ancient India conciseness was the *beau idéal* of *sūtrakāras* and *kārikākāras*. A *ṛtti* or a gloss was always looked upon as a necessary complement to the *sūtras* or *kārikās* and the fact that the *ṛtti* of the *Dhvanyāloka* is more thoroughgoing than the *kārikās* only shows that they conform to the general norms, and nothing more. The several *saṅgraha-śloka*s and *parikara-śloka*s may be explained as being occasioned by the exigencies of summing up the trends of discussion in memorial verses. It is quite plausible that Ānandavardhana deliberately made the *kārikās* very crisp and concise reserving all detailed discussions to be dealt with in the *ṛtti*. It is also conceivable that he wrote the *kārikās* first and taught it to students so that he might gain first-hand knowledge of the precise points that needed fuller explanation, before he wrote out the *ṛtti*. Thus it is quite likely that there might have been some short intervening period between the composition of the *kārikās* and the *ṛtti*. And in view of the controversial atmosphere prevailing in that age, this short period will be quite sufficient to account for some of the improvements effected in the *ṛtti*. Ānandavardhana might have expanded the original ideas in the light of the immediate criticisms that were directed against them.⁴⁴

43 Vide S. K. De: *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, p. 108 ff. also, H. Jacobi: *Z.D.M.G.* vol. 56, p. 406 and cf. S. P. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 614.

44 One such opinion of a contemporary quoted by Ānandavardhana is: *षारुत्वमनाख्येयमवमसते काव्ये तत्र ध्वनिव्यवहारः इति यत्नक्षणम् ध्वनेरुच्यते केनचित् तदयुक्तम्*—*Dhvanyāloka*, p. 518 (Ben. edn.) cf. also the well-known verse of *Manoratha*, pp. 26-7.

Another and a more formidable argument that has been advanced in support of the theory of dual authorship is that the statements in the *kārikās* and the *ṛtti* often conflict with one another, which would be impossible if both were the works of one and the same person. Dr. Goda Varma holds this extreme view⁴⁵. In what follows an attempt is made to review the supposed conflicting passages cited by the Doctor and show how they can be explained as involving no contradiction:

1. The first instance selected by Dr. Varma is *kārika* I. 6. According to him the *kārikā* is intended to point out the *lakṣyabhūyastva* of *pratīyamānārtha* whereas the *ṛtti* emphasises more the rarity of great poets. The two ideas are said to be very dissimilar. Dr. Varma is wrong in thinking that the *kārikā* emphasises the *lakṣyabhūyastva* of *pratīyamānārtha*. It is no doubt true that the *kārikā* appears to be designed to point to the *lakṣya* of *pratīyamānārtha* and superiority over *vāc्यārtha*. But it does not follow that it also has in view the *lakṣyabhūyastva*. The word '*alokasāmānyam*' is enough to silence all doubts on this point. The *lakṣyas* for *pratīyamānārtha* are not the works of all sorts of poets, but only the masterpieces of *mahākavis* who are endowed with an extraordinary imaginative genius. In pointing out the rarity of such *mahākavis* when compared to the numberless poets of a lower order, the *ṛtti* is but elucidating what is already contained in the *kārikā*. It does not 'go a great way from the purpose of the *kārikā*' as alleged.

2. Regarding Ānandavardhana's introduction to *kārikā* I. 7, viz., *idam cāparam pratīyamānasyārthasya sādhuvasādhanaṁ premānaṁ*, Dr. Varma says that it is obviously inappropriate. He writes "when once the existence of *pratīyamānārtha* is established, the question that naturally arises is how it is perceived. The existence of *pratīyamānārtha* as different from *vāc्यārtha* was pointed out in the *kārikā* I. 4; Subsequently its pre-eminence in poetry was discussed in the *kārikā* I. 5. The same point together with the mention of *lakṣyabhūyastva* formed the subject-matter of the next *kārikā*. To say that another proof in support of a topic which was already considered and left out is brought again at this junction is indeed

45 Vide—'Different Authorship of the *kārikāgrantha* and the *ṛtti-grantha* of *Dhvaṇyāloka*' *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. V, No. 12.

tampering with the logical continuity of the *kārikāgrantha*." Here again, Dr. Varma does not grasp the intention of the *kārikās*. No one would venture to say that in the course of the first six *kārikās*, the existence of *pratīyamānārtha* is established. Ānandavardhana himself thinks that it is established at the close of the third *uddiyota*, not earlier. *Kārikā* I. 4 is nothing but a poetic eulogy in praise of *pratīyamānārtha*; I. 5 illustrates it from Vālmiki, the foremost of poets; I. 6 points out how this feature is not restricted to a single poet but a feature found commonly in all great poets, though their number might be small. These illustrations may be regarded as some positive proofs that point to the existence of *Dhvani*. *Kārikā* I. 7 also gives a similar proof by showing how a true appreciation of such great poetry is restricted to a few responsive critics. The proof furnished here is subjective as distinguished from the objective proofs furnished before. Thus it will be seen that there is absolutely no "tampering with the logical continuity of the *Kārikāgrantha*" as urged by Dr. Varma.

3. The propriety of the introduction given to the *kārikā* I. 8 is also challenged by Dr. Varma. As before, he has wholly missed the point even here. He says "according to the *vṛtti* what is discussed in the *kārikā* is the pre-eminence of *vyāṅgyārtha* (cf. pp. 96-7). But the purpose of the *kārikā* seems to indicate the fact that unlike the *vācakaśabdās* and *vācyārthas*, an additional effort in the form of *kāvyaṭṭvārthabbhāvanā* is essential for detecting the *vyāñjakaśabdās* and *vyāñjakārthas*. The comments made in the *vṛtti* lead us to believe that the idea of the *kārikā* has been greatly misunderstood." While it is true that the previous *kārikā* emphasises the need for *kāvyaṭṭvārthabbhāvanā* in detecting the *pratīyamānārtha*, it is not the intention of this *kārikā* to repeat the same idea or merely to extend the idea to cover *vyāñjakaśabdās* also. What it does intend to emphasise however, is that both *vyāñjakaśabdās* and *vyāṅgyārthas* deserve to be carefully noted and appreciated by the poet and the critic alike and as such their superiority and pre-eminence over *vācyārtha* and *vācakaśabda* will be readily realised. The *vṛtti* will thus be seen to represent the view of the *kārikā* correctly. Having failed to appreciate the correct exposition in the *vṛtti* of the purpose of the *kārikā*, Dr. Varma conjectures that its purpose is to show the additional effort needed in detecting only the *vyāñjakas*—both *śabdās*

and *arthas*...since this feature of the *vyāṅgyārtha* has been already shown in the previous *kārikā*. Accordingly he twists the text to suit his ingenious conjecture. The word *so' rthab* (which refers beyond a shadow of doubt to *vyāṅgyārtha*, is construed with *tadvyaktisāmarthyayogī* to yield the meaning *vyāñjakārtha*. Then he takes the *ṛtti-kāra* to task for not having explained the text in this far-fetched manner. The purpose of the *kārikās* I. 7 and I. 8 is not to distinguish between the special effort needed to detect the *vyāṅgyārtha* on the one hand and the *vyāñjaka-śabda* and *vyāñjakārtha* on the other, as Dr. Varma thinks it to be. The purpose of the *kārikā* I. 8 is to contrast by implication the pre-eminence of words that are suggestive and meanings that are suggested over the ordinary words and their meanings.

It will be seen that in the passages examined above there is no difference in outlook between the *kārikā* and the *ṛtti* as made out by Dr. Varma. He also cites some instances of 'indecisive interpretations' given in the *ṛtti* which may now be considered :—

4. In *kārikā* I. 4, there occurs the expression: '*prasiddhā vātirikātam*. The *ṛtti* on it is '*prasiddhebhya' lañkṛtebhyaḥ pratītebhya' vāvayavebhyaḥ*'. Regarding this explanation in the *Ṛtti* Dr. Varma remarks: 'If the author of the *kārikās* himself had written the *ṛtti* he would have surely been definite in his explanation.' The two explanations offered in the *ṛtti* are mistaken by the learned Doctor to be alternate ones. The particle *vā* here means 'and'; not 'or'. According to the *ṛtti* the word *prasiddha* means both *pratīta* and *alañkṛta*. This is a poetic description of suggestion and the word has been deliberately used to carry both the meanings. There is no confusion in the mind of the *ṛttikāra*. He faithfully brings out the implications of the *kārikākāra*.

2. Dr. Varma opines that the expression "*kecidvācāmaṁvīsyam tattvamucustadīyam*" in the initial *kārikā* is twisted in the *ṛtti* and interpreted in favour of the Dhvani School as '*yadi punab...etc*' (pp. 163-4). It should be noted here that the *ṛtti* first gives a positive reply to this objection before interpreting it in this funny way. Hence the *ṛttikāra* cannot be accused of having been in ignorance about the true meaning of the expression. He deliberately argues in this manner to push the position of the rivals to its logical absurdity. This mode of reasoning is called *Chala* in Indian logic.

3. Similarly the expression '*sarvasādhāraṇakriyāḥ*' in the *kārikā*

II. 10 is interpreted in the *ṛtti* to mean 'sarvarasasādhāraṇa and sarvaracanāsādhāraṇa'. Here again we do not see any indecision on the part of the *ṛttikāra*. He is certain that it means both. We know that the idea is not opposed to that of the *kārikākāra* since he recognises *siṅghaṭena* or *racanā* as having its substratum in *guṇas*.⁴⁶

4. Other points made out by the Doctor are equally baseless. He thinks that the *ṛtti* is not sure of what '*ṛtityanaucityam*' means in *Kārikā* III 19. There is no reason to doubt the possibility of the *kārikākāra* himself using the word *ṛtti* in both its recognised senses.

Dr. Goda Varma writes "In the third *Uddyota* the *ṛttigrantha* sets aside the *padārthavākya*rtha-nyāya cited in the *kārikā* I. 10". This is an exaggeration. In the I *Uddyota*, we come across mostly general observations about *Dhvani*, shorn of all technical discussions. In the III *Uddyota* the purpose of the *ṛtti* is to give a thread-bare scholastic analysis of the process of suggestion. What could serve the purpose of the I *Uddyota* without any trouble could not necessarily bear the searching scrutiny in the III. Hence an improvement over the earlier analogy is suggested. But it remains that the first analogy is more helpful in explaining the nature of suggestion than the second which is technically more accurate. There is no question of setting aside the earlier view. Only the intention of the author while writing earlier, is clearly brought out. In like manner the contention of Dr. Varma that 'the *ṛttikāra* betrays his ignorance of the author of the *Bhāktavāda*' will lose all weight in view of the fact that *Bhāktavāda* was only implicit in the treatment of earlier theorists but never explicit.

Another evidence adduced in support of the theory of dual authorship is 'the employment of terms in the *ṛtti* in senses other than the one intended in the *kārikā*'. Dr. Varma illustrates this point as follows: "The term *Dhvani* will always be found to be used in the *kārikāgrantha* only in the sense of *Kāvya*prakāra; *Ṛtti* considers it as a factor in poetry". This is the height of absurdity to which a scholar would go. The *Kārikākāra* also considers *Dhvani* as a factor in poetry.⁴⁷ To prove the inaccuracy of the Doctor's statement, even the initial words of the first *kārikā* would be more

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⁴⁶ Cf. *Dhvanyāloka*, III. 6.

⁴⁷ See my article on 'The Germs of the Dhvani Theory,' *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*.

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than sufficient, since we read 'Kāvyaśyatma dhvaniḥ etc.' How can a *Kāvya-prakāra* be the *ātman* of *Kāvya* ?

Such then are the slender grounds on which the conclusion of Dr. Goda Varma that the authors of the *kārikās* and the *ṛtti* are different, rests.

Before we conclude this section, the additional arguments (based on internal evidence) advanced by another upholder of the dual-authorship theory viz., Prof. S. P. Bhattacharya may be briefly noticed. One point which he makes out is that "the view-points regarding speculations about the relative importance of entities on the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* were different with these two different writers...some striking features in the scheme followed by the eariler writer seem to be concerned with the *nityānityadoṣavyavasthā*, the easiest of *śabdālaṅkāras* in general, the enumeration of *alaṅkāras* as *rūpakādi*, the subdivisions of *kāvya*s, including the relation and inter-relation of plot with *rasa*, and the consequent question of *ṛttis* in works of the *kathā*-type and drama, as also topics like the three *guṇas*—topics which differ considerably from the traditions preserved in Kashmir. Amongst the topics introduced by Ānanda are *śabdavṛttis*, *saṅghaṭanā* and *rīti*-theories and *Rasavadādi alaṅkāras*."⁴⁸

The arguments are not strong. That the *Dhvanīkāra* hailed from a province other than Kashmir cannot be supported on the basis of these facts. Prof. Bhattacharya wrongly thinks that the *kārikākāra* was following a tradition different from that of the *ṛttikāra*. The fact is that he was following no older tradition, but starting a new tradition. All the topics referred to as representing the *kārikākāra*'s tradition are found in no non-Kashmirian writer. Many of them are found in Kashmirian writers. The attempt of the professor to prove Bāṇa's acquaintance of the concept of *Dhvani*, is not convincing.⁴⁹ The *ṛttikāra*, too, is concerned more with elucidating the nature of *Dhvani* than with fitting the theories of *ṛtti*, *rīti* etc. into the frame-work of *Dhvani*.

On metrical and stylistic grounds Prof. Bhattacharya thinks that Ānandavardhana had a hand in supplementing the original *kārikās* by

48 Vide P.O.C., VI, p. 620.

49 कटुकण्ठो मलदायकाः खलास्तदन्यतां बन्धनशृङ्खला इव ।

मनस्तु साधुध्वनिभिः पदेपदे हरन्ति सन्तो मणिजुपुरा इव ॥—Intro. to *Kādambarī*.

his own verses. He contrasts the style and metre of the original *kārikās* with those of the supposed apocryphal ones. "The brevity and terseness of the typical *kārikās* and their rough-hewn aphoristic trend, seem strikingly at variance with the elaborate, refined discussion and often poetical finish of expression, as in the entire 4th *Uddyota*. It appears to us that the entire fourth *Uddyota* is more likely than not an apocryphal work...A favouritism for certain words (e.g. *viṣaya*, *guṇavṛtti*, *skhaladgati*, *pratibhā*) evinces itself in the portion which we would ascribe to Ānanda."

The conclusion is indeed extremely original but unsupported by weighty data. Beauty of style cannot in itself serve as a criterion in judging that a *kārikā* is the work of this or that author. Is there no poetic finish in *kārikās* such as 'pratiyamānam punaranyadeva, (I. 4) and 'sarasvatī svādu...(I. 6)?, whose genuineness is recognised even by the Professor himself? Then again, the assertion that Ānandavardhana's additions are all in *anuṣṭubh* verses and that these contain some special words with restricted meanings, is far from being conclusive. To take only the instances of such words cited by the Professor himself, the word *Pratibhā* is nothing uncommon among writers on Sanskrit poetics. It is used in the same sense by Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana. We know from Abhinavagupta's testimony that Udbhaṭa used the word *Guṇavṛtti* in his *Bhāmavivaraṇa* and Kumarila, Bhaṭṭa makes use of it in his *śloka-vārtika*. The word *viṣaya* and *skhaladgati* are used in senses accepted by Indian systems of thought. For instance the last word is used, by the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti in exactly this sense,⁵⁰ in his *Pramāṇa-vārttika*.

The data furnished by Prof. S. P. Bhattacharya will thus be found to be inadequate to prove duality of authorship of the *Dhvanyāloka*.

Now we are in a position to conclude that the problem discussed above may be taken as solved with a fair degree of certainty. There is not a single piece of evidence to support firmly the theory of dual authorship. And all evidences—external and internal—point to the conclusion that Ānandavardhana himself composed the entire work *Dhvanyāloka*, consisting of the *kārikās* and the *vṛtti*.⁵¹

50 यत्तद्व्याससदृशं ऽपि जनैः शब्दो निवेशितः । स मुख्यस्तत् तस्माम्यादौ ऽन्यत्र स्खलद्गतिः ॥—*op. cit.*, III, 37.

51 Dr. C. Kunhan Raja also believes in the identity of Authorship; cf.

Date of Ānandavardhana

If we rely on the soundness of the testimony furnished in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, there will be no difficulty in fixing the date of Ānandavardhana precisely. According to Kalhaṇa⁵², Ānandavardhana flourished under Avantivarman, king of Kashmir from 856 to 883 A.D. Jacobi thinks⁵³ that there are two things which go against this positive evidence. First comes the verse 'Yasminnasti na vastu kiñcana etc.' in the *Dhuvanyāloka* (p.26) which is ascribed by Abhinavagupta to Manoratha, a contemporary of the author (*granthakṛt*). Manoratha is to be dated, according to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*⁵⁴ during the reign of Jayāpīḍa (c. 780-811 A.D.) and his successor Lalitāpīḍa. The difficulty then arises that 'Manoratha who is thus made a contemporary of Ānandavardhana, lives in the middle or the latter part of the 9th century, i.e. somewhat later than the date assigned to him by Kalhaṇa.⁵⁵ Jacobi would get over the difficulty by understanding Abhinavagupta's expression '*granthakṛt*' to mean the anonymous *Dhvanikāra*. Dr. De notes that this interpretation does not agree with the usual practice of Abhinavagupta who invariably means Ānandavardhana by the term '*granthakṛt*'. Pischel⁵⁶ thinks that Kalhaṇa is wrong in assigning Manoratha to the reign of Jayāpīḍa and Lalitāpīḍa. Dr. De feels that there are only two other possible ways of removing the difficulty—(1) by supposing that the two Manorathas were different persons or (2) that Abhinavagupta himself has confused the *kārikākāra* with the *vyttikāra* in a manner not usual with him. And he is at a loss to decide either way. But there is a third possibility noted by Jacobi himself⁵⁷ and which he ignores. It is to suppose that the early years of Ānandavardhana and the old age of Manoratha synchronised. By accepting this possibility, the difficulty will disappear.

Introduction to the *Slokavārtikavyākhyā* (Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 13) p. xl.

52 मुक्ताकणः शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धनः । प्रथां रत्नाकरश्चागात्साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मणः ॥ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, V. 34

53 *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 56, p. 404

54 *Loc. cit.*, iv, 497 and 671.

55 S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics* vol. I, p. 112.

56 Introduction to Rudrata's *Śṛṅgāratilaka*.

57 *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 56, p. 404 also *W.Z.K.M.*, vol. iv, p. 239; cf. also, V. Raghavan's article on Manoratha—*Jr. of Or. Res.*, vol. III.

The second point which contradicts the declaration of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is Ānandavardhana's quotation of a verse which is found in the *śataka* of Bhallaṭa who according to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (v. 204) lived under Śaṅkaravarman (883-902)⁵⁸. Another stanza which Ānandavardhana claims to have composed himself⁵⁹ is also found in Bhallaṭa's *śataka*. But this fact also can be explained by saying that just as in Bhartṛhari's *śatakas*⁶⁰ in Bhallaṭa's *śataka* also some verses composed by others are included. Hence Kalhaṇa's testimony may be regarded as correct so far as the date of Ānandavardhana is concerned.

Ānandavardhana's Works

In addition to the *Dhvanyāloka*, Ānandavardhana appears to have written several other works—both literary and philosophical. Excepting his *Devīśataka*⁶¹ no other work has come down to us. The following are some of the side-references we get to his other works:

1. *Tattvāloka*: Abhinavagupta twice refers to this philosophical treatise of Ānandavardhana in his commentary. The first reference is: '.....सर्वं परमेश्वराद्वयं ब्रह्मेत्यस्मच्छास्त्रकारेण न न विदितं तत्त्वालोकग्रन्थं विरचयतेत्याहम्'⁶². From this statement in the *Locana* we can gather that the work was primarily meant as an exposition of the philosophy of the Absolute. The second reference of Abhinavagupta is: एतच्च ग्रन्थकारेण तत्त्वलोके वितत्योक्तिमिहत्वस्य न मुख्योऽवसर इति नास्माभिस्तद्दर्शितम्⁶³. From this it might be concluded that the *Tattvāloka* contained a disquisition about the *Kāvya-naya* and the *śāstra-naya*. One other reference to Ānandavardhana's *tattvāloka* is found in Maheśvarānanda's commentary called *Parimalā* on his own Prākṛt treatise *Mahārthamañjarī*⁶⁴. He quotes Ānandavardhana's *kārikā* I. 4 with these prefatory words 'Yaduktaṁ Tattvālokakṛtā kāvyāloka'⁶⁵.

2. '*Pramāṇa-viniścaya-tīkā-vivṛti*' called '*Dharmottamā*': Ānandavardhana himself refers to this work of his on Buddhist Logic while reviewing the position of the Buddhists about *anirvacanīyatā*. The

58 See Colonel Jacob, *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 290.

59 P. 218 N. S. Press Edn.

60 Cf. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*.

61 Published in the *Kāvya-mālā* Series, vol. ix.

62 P. 67 (Ben. Edn.).

63 P. 533 (Ben. Edn.).

64 Published in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* No. lxvi.

65 *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.

detailed name of the work is furnished by Abhinavagupta who says: ग्रन्थान्तर इति विनिश्चयटीकायां धर्मोत्तमायां या विवृतिरमुना ग्रन्थकृता कृता तल्लैवतद्व्याख्यातम्⁶⁶. This leads us to conclude that Ānandavardhana had composed a commentary called *Dharmottamā* on the *Pramāṇa-viniścayaṭikā* of Dharmakīrti,⁶⁷ who lived in the seventh century A.D.

3. *Viṣamabhāṇa-līlā*: This is a Prākṛt poem from which Ānandavardhana himself quotes. One of these verses has the prefatory remark: यथा वा समैव विषमवाणलीलायां असुरपराक्रमणे कामदेवस्य, Abhinavagupta comments '*Trailokyavijayo hi tatāṣya varṇyate*'⁶⁸. It is clear then that the theme of this work was the triumphant conquest of Maṇmatha over all the three worlds. Writers like Kuntaka, Maṇmatha, Bhoja and Hemacandra quote from this poem.

4. *Arjunacarita*: According to Ānandavardhana's own statement in the *Dhvanyāloka*, this was his *mahākāvya*. He says यथा च मदिय एवर्जुनचरिते महाकाव्ये।⁶⁹

5. *Madhumathanavijaya* (?) In the third Uddyota Ānandavardhana refers to this work with these words—तद्यथा मधुमथनविजये पाञ्चजन्योक्लिषु।⁷⁰ He does not however explicitly state that it is his own work. From a quotation from this work given by Abhinavagupta, it is clear that it was also a Prākṛt poem. Peter Peterson regards this also as a work of Ānandavardhana⁷¹.

6. *Devīsataka*: It is a century of devotional lyrics written in praise of Devī, full of various verbal figures of speech.

Personal life of Ānandavardhana:

Not much is known about the personal life of Ānandavardhana. That his father's name was Nṛpa is gathered from Ānandavardhana's own statement in the *Devīsataka* to that effect. He says:—

देव्या स्वप्नोत्तमादिष्टदेवीशतकसञ्ज्ञया ।

देशितानुपमामाधदत्तो नोणसुतो नुतिम् ॥

If one were to form an estimate of Ānandavardhana as a poet solely on the basis of this *Devīsataka*, it would be positively unfair to

66 Vide p. 519 (Ben. Edn.).

67 About *Pramāṇaviniścaya*—See Stecherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic* and Poussin in *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 132.

68 Vide p. 265 (Ben. Edn.) cf. also p. 346.

69 Vide p. 336 (Ben. Edn.).

70 Vide p. 345.

71 Introduction to Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, p. 10.

Ānandavardhana. For as a poet he is seen to revel here in just those tricks and poetic gymnastics which he condemns wholeheartedly as a critic. In sheer jugglery of words and rhymes, in the twists and turns given to expressions, in the artificial arrangement of sounds to suit set models of drawings (*citra-bandhas*), in short, in all the artificial devices perfected by poetasters, the work is almost unparalleled. Recondite puns and bombast characterise the *Śataka* from the first verse to the last. One is almost tempted to remark that Ānandavardhana's practice is poles apart from his precept. But perhaps these none too flattering features in the *Devīśataka* are to be explained as due to the fact that they were modelled upon similar *śataka*'s by Bāṇa and Mayūra.

Several beautiful verses of Ānandavardhana are available as quotations in Anthologies like Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*⁷², Śrīdhara-dāsa's *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*,⁷³ Jallhara's *Sūktimuktāvalī*⁷⁴ and the *Śāraṅga-dharapaddhati*⁷⁴. These verses invariably reflect Ānandavardhana's good taste and will serve as a corrective to the impression left on our minds by reading his *Devīśataka* alone. To form a just estimate of Ānandavardhana as a poet, these verses must also be taken in conjunction with the *Devīśataka*. But a full estimate of his greatness as a poet is rendered impossible by the non-availability of all his works. But so far as the attitude of later writers towards Ānandavardhana is concerned, there can be no doubt that it was one of boundless admiration. The following verse of Kayyāṭa will serve as a sample:

आनन्दवर्धनकविप्रवरप्रणीतकाव्ये किमल्पमतिना क्रियते मयैवम् ।

किं वा पिपीलिककुलानि न संश्रयन्ते मत्तेभदन्तपदपङ्क्तिममेयसारम् ॥

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

- 72 Verses 2, 1776, 558, 60, 623, 3519, 3513, 2484, 49, 615, 157, 3226, 904, 525, 165, 343 and 559. Peterson and Durgaprasad's Edn.
73 IV 4. 1 The Punjab Oriental Series No. 15.
74 x-6, ii-58, xxii-5, ii-99 Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. lxxxii.
75 898, 906 etc., Peterson's edn.

MISCELLANY

Gaṅgādāsa and his Father Gopālādāsa

Prof. Gode, in his usual thorough manner, collected all available facts about Gaṅgādāsa, the celebrated author of the *Chandomañjarī*, in a paper published in the *I. H. Q.*, (XV, pp. 512-22) and fixed his date within c. 1300-1500 A.D. (*ib.*, p. 521). A search for hidden treasures in the dark and dusty Mss. collections has been successful again in rescuing from oblivion many new facts about Gaṅgādāsa and his father Gopālādāsa, which are briefly published below as a supplement to Mr. Gode's paper.

Commentaries on the Chandomañjarī

Mr. Gode has named six commentaries (*l.c.* p. 517), none of which seems to have been examined by him. We shall add details about a few of them as far as available to us. Govardhana-dāsa evidently belonged to a 'Dāsa' family and as such, as we shall presently see, cannot be of the same family with Gaṅgādāsa. Mr. Gode has cited the introductory verse; the second verse runs as follows :—

श्रिता चिन्ता बाल्ये खजनभरणैकान्तरसिका
विरोधश्चामितैस्तदिह न हि सम्यक् कलितधीः ।

अतोऽस्माकं यत्नः स्खलनमनुमन्येत पिशुनः
समाधास्यन्यस्यां सदयहृदयास्तत्र सुधियः ॥

(Ms. No. 308 in the V. R. Museum, Rajshahi)

At Rajshahi we examined a fragment of another commentary (in palm-leaf fol. 4-61) the name of whose author is not traceable; it was not, however, Govardhana as we found it out. An interesting passage of this commentary is cited below (fol. 4b):—

‘तं प्रणमामि च बालगोपालम्’ इत्यत्र शंकराचार्यकृतगोपालस्तवे गो इत्यस्य तीव्रप्रयत्नेन लघुत्वमन्यथा पञ्चभट्टिकाञ्छन्दोभङ्गः स्यात् । यत्तु, ‘बहिर्द्वारे यस्य तृणलवसमाः सन्ति गुणिनः’ इत्यत्र कथं स्य इत्यस्य गुरुत्वम् । उच्यते । ऋकारे रेफो वर्त्तते इति पाणिनीयाः, अतएव पितृणामित्यादौ एत्वं ‘रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे’ इत्यस्य विषयः स्यात् । अतो ऋतश्चेति वक्तव्यमिति पुरुषोत्तमकृतं सूत्रं स्पष्टार्थमेवेति न्यासकारादिभिः स्वीकृतम्...केचित्तु बहिर्यस्य द्वारे इति पठन्ति । (Compare Viśvanātha Pañcānana's comm. on *Prākṛta-Piṅgala*, B.I. Ed., p. 8). The name of the commentator Jagannātha Sena *Kavirāja*, son of Jaṭādhara *Kavirāja*, both of whom had been practising physicians as proved by their title, has been traced

by us in the *Candraprabhā*, a genealogical work of Bharata Mallika (*vide I. H. Q.*, XVII, pp. 170, 172) written in 1675 A.D. Thus:—
(p. 239)

काशीनाथस्य सेनस्य जज्ञिरे तनयास्त्रयः ।
जटाधरस्तदीयाद्यः कविराज इति स्मृतः ॥
पण्डितः सर्वशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वज्ञः सद्गुणाश्रयः ।

* * * *

जटाधरस्य सेनस्य जज्ञिरे तनयास्त्रयः ॥
जगन्नाथः कविनृपः पण्डितः शिल्पकार्यकृत् ।
एष लब्धमहोपासकसम्मानोऽर्जितपौरुषः ॥

All the three sons of Jagannātha were also distinguished scholars and Bharata in the section dealing with the family of this 'Jagannātha-Kavirāja' (p. 240) has recorded the names of his descendants upto the *eighth* generation. As Bharata wrote in 1675 A.D. Jagannātha's date falls, with three generations to the century, late in the 15th century A.D. Jagannātha was, therefore, one of the earliest commentators of *Gaṅgādāsa*, the latest limit of whose date is pushed back cosequently to c. 1425 A.D.

We are in possession of a Ms. fragment of another commentary on the *Chandomañjarī* by one Jagannāthācārya, quite different from the Vaidya scholar Jagannātha Sena. A short descriptive note of this rare Ms. is given below. It is a paper Ms. of 33 foll. incomplete towards the end; there are two large lacunae in fol. 4 and 6 and smaller ones elsewhere showing the mutilated condition of the original from which it was copied. It begins:—

ॐ नमो हरये ॥ अन्तर्बहिः सतेष्येकमूर्त्तये मोक्षहेतवे ।
भिन्नभाषाय संसारबीजाय हरये नमः ॥
गङ्गादासकविग्रन्थमकरोत् कृष्णसंश्रयं ।
अतोऽस्य श्रीजगन्नाथशर्मा टीकां व्यधादिमां ॥
हरिप्रीत्यै कृतो यस्मादियं टीका विपश्चिता ।
अतो हरिप्रियेत्येषा धत्ते नाम यथोचितं ॥

One of the three colophons (in fol. 29a, 30a, & 31b) runs:—
इति श्रीहरिप्रियाभिधानायां श्रीजगन्नाथाचार्यविरचितायां छन्दोमञ्जरीटीकायां विषमवृत्ताख्य-
चतुर्थस्तवकविवरणं । (fol. 31b). The only lexicon cited by the commen-
tator is *Medinikara* (foll. 12a, 21b, 30a & 32b) and he proves himself
a follower of Pāṇini. *Gaṅgādāsa* has given his own examples of every
metre, adding a few examples from other well-known poets. This

commentator distinctly notes that in the text of Gaṅgādāsa in most cases only one line of each of the several borrowed verses was given as additional examples and not the whole verse (cf. तदेकचरणोऽत्र दृष्टान्तीकृतः fol. 22a &c.). But in the printed texts we find the whole verses everywhere. There are three references to previous comments (fol. 6b, 20a & 32a) of unnamed authors. He correctly traced the borrowed verses to their actual sources, except the verse from the unknown 'Kauśikakāvya' (under the metre Gitikā—अथ सालेल्यादि विचार्य्य fol. 24b). The ascription of the well-known verse 'अयि विजहीहि...वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः' (under the metre Mālātī) to Bhāravi as in the Mss. and printed editions is correctly stated to be wrong (भारवाविति पाठः प्रमादलिखितः fol. 12b). The exact identity of the two metres 'Māñjubhāṣiṇī' and 'Prabodhitā' is thus noted:—सजसेति लक्षणं ग्रन्थकृत एव प्रमादकृतं मञ्जुभाषिणीलक्षणेनैव गतार्थत्वात् । नामान्तरार्थमिति चेत्तत्रैव प्रबोधिता चेति नामान्तरं कचिदिति वक्तुमुचितं । यत्तु शयितेति पद्यमुदाहृतमास्ते कृष्णाश्रयपद्यत्वात्तद् व्याख्यायते । (fol. 15a). Under I. 11 in explaining the line तथा पादान्तगोपि वा a verse from the Bhaṭṭi was according to this commentary cited by Gaṅgādāsa, but it is now dropped in some Mss. and editions:—तत्र लघोगुरुत्वे तरुणमित्यादिश्लोक उदाहरणं गुरोर्लघुत्वे "अथ लुलितपतवो"त्यादिश्लोक उदाहरणं ।.....एवं अथ लुलितपतवीत्यत्र श्लोके प्रथमचरणान्ते गुरुरस्ति ततश्च त्रयोदशमात्रा भवति चतुष्कलगणव्याहतिश्च तेन गुरु लघुत्वबोधोभयं विधीयते ।..... अथ लुलितेत्यादि भट्टिकाव्ये हनूमद्भज्यमानवनवर्णनेयं.....असन्नवृत्तो वाद्यासना इति प्रसिद्धिः..... ॥ (fol. 2b-3a) Puṇḍarikākṣa Vidyāsāgara, who wrote late in the 15th century A.D. (*vide Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā*, vol. 47, p. 157), first raised the point in his famous commentary on the Bhaṭṭi thus:—सानुस्वारस्य यद्यपि छन्दः-शास्त्रे गुरुत्वमनुशिष्टं तथापि 'तथा पादान्तगोपि वा' इति वचनात्तस्य लघुत्वे प्रथमपादे द्वादशमात्रा भवन्ति, किन्तु "भवति नेह विषमे ज" इत्यार्यायां प्रायिकं तृतीयगणस्यात्र मध्यं गुरुत्वात् । वस्तुतः पत्रिमालमिति पाठः मध्ये तकारपाठो लेखकप्रमादजः । (fol. 154a of *Kalāpadīpikā* in possession of the present writer: exactly reproduced without acknowledgment by Bharata Mallika under Bhaṭṭi X. 14). It may be surmised that the verse in question was dropped from the text of Gaṅgādāsa after this note of the eminent scholar, whose citation from the *Chandomañjarī* should be duly noted. Jagannāthācārya was evidently a contemporary of Vidyāsāgara and wrote in the second half of the 15th century at the latest.

In the Murshidabad edition of the work dated 402 Caitanya era (i.e. 1887 A.D.) two commentaries were printed, the Bhāvārthasandī-

panī of Dātārāma Nyāyavāgiśa and Vyākhyānakaumudī of Raghunandana. Dātārāma as already reported by Mitra (L. 2066, a fragment going up to p. 171 of the printed edition which is complete in pp. 302) knew commentaries of previous scholars (*vide* also pp. 67 and 80). He appears to be a fairly early writer who seems to have consulted the long-lost drama *Pārijātaharāṇa* of Gaṅgādāsa's father (cf. पारिजातहरणे कृष्णेन्द्रयोर्युद्धे गरुडवाक्यं p. 18). Raghunandana wrote his commentary in 1758 Śaka (p. 301); he was a descendant of Nityānanda the famous associate of Caitanyadeva and was a most prolific writer of the first half of the 19th century. All the above commentaries were written in Bengal and presumably those of Kṛṣṇārāma, Candrasekhara, Vaṁśīvadana and Vaṁśīdhara also, though the latter are not available to us for examination.

Works of Gaṅgādāsa

The author has been practically immortalised by his single work the *Chandomañjarī* which is the most popular work on prosody in Bengal and has appeared in print many times¹. But some of the editions give us an interpolated text. For instance, the references to the *Vṛttaratnākara* and its *Parīṣiṣṭa* as well as to the *Vṛttaratnāvalī* are interpolations and should be expunged from the genuine text of the author. The list of references prepared by Mr. Gode (*loc. cit.* pp. 513-14) should accordingly be corrected. Gaṅgādāsa's poems cited by himself in the book—*Acyutacarita*, *Gopālāśataka* and the *Sūryaśataka*—have not yet been discovered. But it has escaped the notice of scholars that another important work of Gaṅgādāsa has been long discovered viz. *Kāvyaśikṣā* (*vide List of Sans. Mss. in the Sarasvatī Bhavana*, Benares, 1913, Ms. No. 2083 in foll. 17). A copy now preserved in the Ms. collection of the Dacca University (Ms. No. 1029D complete in 17 foll.) was examined by us in 1940. It begins:

प्रणम्य भारतीं देवीं वैद्यगोपालसूनुना । गङ्गादासेन संक्षेपात् काव्यशिक्षा विधीयते ॥
मन्त्रैर्वा स्तवपाठैर्वा समुपास्या सरस्वती । कवित्वं कर्तुमिच्छन् विविचार्या पुस्तिकापि मे ॥
नराणां काव्यशिक्षार्थं सुगमोक्तिरसमासतः । उद्दिष्टोऽयं मम ग्रन्थः पटुभिः परिगृह्यताम् ॥

¹ The first edition (pp. 31) was printed at Serampore in 1755 Śaka (i.e., 1834 A.D.) and published in a composite volume together with Cirañjīva Bhaṭṭācārya's *Vṛttaratnāvalī* (pp. 15), which was never republished. There is evidence that the editor was Jayagopāla Tarkalāṅkāra (1772-1846 A.D.) of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.

छन्दोनुबन्धो मधुरो वर्णश्च साम्प्रदायिकं । सामान्यशब्दश्चरमो गुणालङ्कारदूषणम् ॥
समस्यापूरणविधिः किञ्चित् किञ्चित् प्रदर्शयते । इति विज्ञाय संक्षेपं मृग्यतां विस्तरोऽन्यतः ॥
मल्लिगुरु.....

Ends: इन्द्रजालेन चित्तेण स्वप्नसन्दर्शनेन वा । वर्णनीयं स्वमतिभिरन्यद्-यद्यदसम्भवम् ॥

अन्ये समस्यापूरणोपायाः प्रयोगदर्शनेन बुधैर्ज्ञेयाः । इति सदैवश्रीगङ्गादासकृता काव्य-
शिक्षा समाप्ता । शकाब्दाः १७३२

The elementary nature of the book will be apparent from the following table of contents.

Fol. 2b अथ सर्वप्रयुक्तानि प्रचरद्रूपाणि कियन्ति छन्दांसि कथ्यन्ते ।

7a इति छन्दःकथनं ॥ अथ साम्प्रदायिकं वर्णनं कियदुच्यते । वसन्ते कोकिलस्तं...

7b ज्योत्स्नायां विरहज्वरः । अन्यानि भूयांसि महाकविकाव्यदर्शनैर्ज्ञातव्यानि ॥

अथ सामान्यशब्दाः कथ्यन्ते ।

8a अथ रसः—यामिनीवेन्दुना हीना नारीव रमणं विना ।

लक्ष्मीरिव ऋते योगात् न वाणी भाति नीरसा ॥

12a अथ गुणाः ।

12b अथालङ्काराः कथ्यन्ते कियन्तः ।

15a शब्दालङ्काराणाम् लक्षणं महायमकदर्शनेन ज्ञातव्यं । काव्यदोषाः

16b अथ समस्यापूरणं

The small section on prosody in this book bears fruitful comparison with the author's larger work *Chandomañjarī* which seems to be a later work, though it is not mentioned here. Unlike the latter the different metres are mostly illustrated here from well-known sources viz. Raghu, Bhāravi, Abhijñāna, Ratnāvalī, Mālatī, Anargharāghava, Mahānāṭaka, Vāsavadattā, Kādambarī and the Vṇḍāvanakāvya, besides his own work ममैवच्युतचरिते (fol. 3a). Eight of the illustrations, not drawn from any named sources and written apparently by the author himself, are also found in the *Chandomañjarī*, as well as the following two interesting passages:—

प्रहे वेति पुनः पिङ्गलमुनेर्विकल्पविधायकं सूत्रं यथा, सा मङ्गलस्नानविशुद्धगङ्गा गृहीत-
प्रत्युद्गमनीयवस्त्वेति कुमारे, प्राप्तनाभिहृदमञ्जनमाश्रिति माधे । आधुनिकैः पुनः कविभिः
स्वाशक्तिप्रतिपादकत्वेन नैव प्रयुज्यते । (Fol. 1b-2a)

अथश्च श्लोकछन्दोगोविन्दे मम गुरोर्गङ्गादासस्य

श्वेतमाण्डव्यमुख्यास्तु नेच्छन्ति मुनयो यतिम् ।

इत्याह भट्टः स्वग्रन्थे गुरुर्मे पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ (fol. 2a)

This latter reference found thus in both the works of the author is a great puzzle. Dātārāma explains—गङ्गादासस्येति मम विशेषणं, गुरुः पिता । (p. 27). So according to him *Chandogovinda* was a work of Gaṅgādāsa's father and Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭa was the latter's teacher.

A book named *Chandomakhānta* by Puruṣottama is preserved in the V. R. Museum, Rajshahi (*vide* V. R. Society's Monograph No. 5, March, 1934, pp. 23-26), where Puruṣottama quotes from the *Chandoviciti* and his own drama *Bhānumati-pariṇaya*. If he is identical with the author mentioned by Gaṅgādāsa above it is very unlikely that he should have written another work on the same subject by the name of *Chandogovinda*. It should be noticed that Dātārāma's interpretation resolves the apparent redundancy of the prose context, which becomes otherwise identical with the second line of the verse itself. It is necessary to mention, however, that the Murshidabad edition of the *Chandomañjarī* published at the end a magnificent eulogium of Puruṣottama as from an old Ms. (श्रोत्रोद्योगः प्राचीनपुस्तकोद्योगः pp. 301-2), where he is evidently taken as the teacher of Gaṅgādāsa himself. Perhaps he taught both the father and the son:—

पारोन्द्रः पदकानने नयनदीनाथे सुधादीधितिस्कर्कश्रेणिसरोरुहेषु तरणिः साव्याद्रिकुञ्जे करो ।
ज्योतिर्वैद्यक-भारतागमसरोर्हंसः कवित्वे कृती भट्टः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमो विजयते यस्यात्त शिष्यः कविः ॥

Date of Gaṅgādāsa

The most important reference in the *Kavyāśikṣā* in the section on prosody, which fixes the earlier limit of the author's period of activity, is cited below. As an example of प्रतिपदपञ्चमद्विका Gaṅgādāsa quotes:—(fol. 7a)

दण्डकमण्डलु मण्डितहस्तः सुललित-तिलक-विभूषितमस्तः ।

अयमुपसर्पति जङ्गमलोभः चलकाषायपटार्षितशोभः ॥ इति धूर्तसमागमे ।

The verse is traceable in the drama of the same name by Kaviśekhara Jyotirīśvarācārya (v. 11 of Sandhi 1). According to verse 3 of the drama it was written when the Kārṇāta king Narasiṃha of Mithilā was reigning ('अस्ति श्रीनरसिंहदेवनृपतिः कर्णाटचूडामणिः', l. 3: so in the German Litho edition, Satyavrata Sāmaśramī's ed. in the *Pratnakarmanandini* Vol. VII, No. 4, p. 3 and *Des. Cat. of A. S. B. Mss.*, Vol. VII, p. 268; but a Nepalese copy reads Harasiṃha for Narasiṃha—H. P. Śāstrī's *Nepāl Cat.* Vol. I, p. 67). Narasiṃha was a successor of Harasiṃha and was patronised by Muhammad Tughlak (S. N. Sinha's *Hist. of Tirhut*, 1922, p. 68); his time falls, therefore, in the second quarter of the 14th cent. A. D. The earliest date that can be assigned to Gaṅgādāsa is consequently 1350 A. D. We have fixed above the lowest limit of

his date as about 1425 A. D. This is corroborated by the fact that he is cited by name in the *Kalāpadīpikā* of Puṇḍarikākṣa Vidyāsāgara (under Bhaṭṭi VIII. 131: —एकमेवेदं पद्यं गङ्गादासादिनोक्तम् fol. 134a of an old Ms. in our possession). Puṇḍarikākṣa flourished late in the 15th cent. A.D. (*Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā*, Vol. 47, p. 157) when Gaṅgādāsa was an established authority in Bengal. There cannot be any doubt that Gaṅgādāsa was living about 1400 A. D.

Works of Gaṅgādāsa's father Gopāladāsa

Gaṅgādāsa has quoted a verse from a drama named *Pārijātabaraṇa* by his father which remains yet to be discovered. Fortunately a fragment of a huge work on Āyurveda named *Cikitsāmrta* by Gopāladāsa has been recently acquired for the Ms. collection of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta (Sans. Ms. No. 2000, foll. 293 in Bengali character). It throws a flood of new light on the history of the family and on the condition of Vaidyaka studies in Bengal late in the 14th century A. D. A short analysis of this important work is attempted below. It begins: —

ॐ नमो लिपिलम्बोदराय ॥

नमाम्यनन्तमत्यन्त(ं)सर्वसन्तापशान्तिद(म्) ।
 आयुर्वेदामृतमुखा(न्) धन्वन्तरि * * नपि ॥
 शिवायास्तु प्रभा माता दशाशीलनमुप्रभा ।
 वन्दितास्कन्दितार्द्धेन्दुप्रभालिकतटप्रभा ॥
 घृतवंशमित्ससं(?) साव्रवृन्दावने स्थितं ।
 लन्द्रजे(ः) विलसत्कीर्तिं पितरं नौमि केशवं ॥
 तीशटश्चन्द्रो वैद्यप्रदीपोऽमृतवल्गिका ।
 मिषड्मुष्ट्रियोगशतं योगरत्नकरण्डकः ॥
 रविगुप्तोऽमृतघटो व्यग्रदीनशुभङ्करः ।
 चिकित्साकलिका तत्त्वकलिकारोगयमञ्जरी ॥
 सिद्धसारो बिन्दुमारस्तथा वैद्यप्रसारकः ।
 भोजः पुत्रोत्सवालोक्तः संप्रह्वेवमादिषु ॥
 पूर्वेषु संहितासारदुग्धसिन्धुमुधोर्मिषु ।
 गतेषु कालक्रमतः कीर्त्तिमातैकसारतां ॥
 अष्टाङ्गाथर्ववेदोपवेदायुर्वे(द)वारिधेः ।
 धन्वन्तरिपदध्यानादन्यूनाधिकमुद्धृतं ॥
 श्रीमद्भोपालदासेन वैद्यवृन्दनियोगिना ।
 इदमास्वाद्यतां वैद्यैश्चिकित्सामृतमुत्तमं ॥

को बाभट्टं विघटिताखिलतन्द्रतत्त्वं वङ्गश्च चङ्गरचनाचणुच्चचितं ।

को वा न वृन्दमभिनन्दितवैद्यवन्धं चक्रश्च वाक्यसुगमीकृतयोगचक्रं ॥

यैर्दृष्टो न हि बाभट्टो न च पुनस्तीर्णश्चित्तसारणो,

नाप्यासादितचङ्गवङ्गरचना नास्वादिता वृन्दगीः ।

वका चक्रकथा ससारकलिका नास्वादि यैः साम्प्रतं

तैवयैर्निखिलोपतापशमनं पेयं चिकित्सामृतं ॥

ताते याते देवलोकं लिखित्वा श्रीसन्तोषाकुञ्जिजः कृष्णदासः ।

गङ्गादासो भ्रातरौ संहितादीन् आलोकयैत्तच्चक्रतुश्चारुगुम्फं ॥

ततोसौ बलभद्रेण भवेन च पितुः कृतिः ।

लिखित्वा लेखयित्वा च पितृभक्त्या प्रचारिता ॥

आयुर्हि ताहितं व्याधेर्निदानं शमनन्तथा ।

विद्यते यत्तद्धीमद्विरायुर्वेदः स उच्यते ॥

It is very unfortunate that the third verse of this important introduction containing a reference to the family and place of origin of the author is corrupt beyond restoration. Nevertheless we shall try our best to make it intelligible. We read in the *Candraprabhā* (p. 8) of Bharata Mallika, the most authoritative work on Vaidya genealogy in Bengal, that the 'Dhara' family of Varendra stock went by the name of their place of origin 'Vandyavani' (धररक्षितयोर्वैद्यवनी-करञ्जकस्थथा— (also a very doubtful reading). We believe the present family is of the same origin and the verse under question may be partly emended as follows :—धरवंशामलौतंसं साधु वृन्दावनस्थितं ।

The place of activity (?) of Gopālādāsa's father Keśava (=Prabhā) cannot, however, be identified. The mention of Gaṅgādāsa's mother's name (Santoṣā) found also in the *Chandomanjari* removes all doubts about the identity of the family. Kṛṣṇadāsa, the elder brother of Gaṅgādāsa, may be identical with the author of the same name extensively quoted in Vidyāvinoda's, commentary on the *Amarakoṣa* (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, vol. XII, 1938, p. 13). Of the 18 works mentioned in vv. 4-6 as existing only in name at the time of the author, all except two (*Yogaratanakaraṇḍaka* and *Ārogyamanjari*) were quite popular in the time of Nisalakara (*I.H.Q.*, XXIII, pp. 137-49), pointing to the deplorable set back to Ayurvedic studies in Bengal after the Muslim conquest. It is interesting to note that the book was revised after the death of the author by his two sons, who must have been well-read in Vaidyaka also, and published by two pupils of the author named Balabhadra

and Bhava. The only means of publication in those days was to have handmade copies ('likhitvā lekhyitvā ca').

The book was intended to be a comprehensive work on Āyurveda complete in all its parts as the large number of chapters in it will show. These are:—(as stated by the author himself in fol. 2ab)

आयुर्वेदागमोऽन्तादौ (2b) शिष्योपनयनं ततः । (4a)

चतुष्पादप्रणयनं (4b) दोषादीनां निरूपणम् (10a) ॥

देशस्वरूपकथनम् (10b) ऋतुचर्यमनन्तरम् (12b) ।

दिनाचारो (15b) धूमविधिः (16a) क्वडादिविचारणा (17a) ॥

आश्च्योतनाज्जनादिश्च (18b) सशृङ्गादिशिराव्यधः (20a) ।

शस्त्रशल्याधिकारश्च (22b) शारीरं (26a) मर्मनिर्ययः (28b) ॥

नरस्य लक्षणं (32b) भूताः (33a) शकुनस्य विवेचनम् (34b) ।

अरिष्टं (37a) स्वप्रविज्ञानम् (41a) अभिधानं (62a) गणो (69a) गुणः (98a) ॥

द्रव्यनिरूपणाध्यायो (99b) रसवीर्यादिनिश्चयः (102b) ।

अनुपानविधिस्तद्वत् (107b) काल औषधभोजने (107b) ॥

मानस्य (108a) परिभाषा च (110a) मेघजस्य विचारणम् (111b) ।

ज्वरः (113b) स्वेद- (114a) स्ततोऽभ्यासाः पञ्च स्युः पञ्चकर्मणाम् ॥

(वमन 115b विरेक 118a वस्ति 121b निरूह 125a नस्य 126b)

रसायनं च लौहश्च (147a) वृष्याध्यायोऽ(151b) य मिश्रकः (153a) ।

सनिदानं ज्वरादीनां चिकित्सितमनुकमात् ॥

The last folio of the present fragment (293b) ends with the section on 'Mūtrakṛccha' i.e. as many as 46 sections (as enumerated at the end of the above index) are missing towards the end. Some of the important materials for a history of Vaidyaka literature are noted below.

The chapter on Sārira is an extract from the *Viṣṇudharmottara*:—

कापि कापि विशेषौ च दत्त्वा चारकमुश्रुतौ ।

विष्णुधर्मोत्तरप्रोक्तं शारीरमिदमुच्यते ॥ (fol. 22b)

The important chapter on *Dravyābbhidhāna* (foll. 41-62) seeks to reconcile conflicting texts:—

विरोधो यत्तु कोषाणां कृतस्तत्रात् निश्चयः ।

शब्दार्णवादिसत्कोषप्रमाणैकगवेषणात् ॥ (41b)

and, as stated at the end, is a summary from the author's own bigger lexicon named *SUDHĀBINDU*, which has not yet been discovered:—

कोषान्नाम्नो बुधाबिन्दोद्भूतोसौ स्वयंकृतात् ।

(श्रीमद्)गोपालदासेन बुधाधान-बुधादनः ॥ (62a)

In the following four colophons the author has recorded the important fact that he was the 'antaraṅga' (i.e. royal physician) of a prince named Vindheśvara (or the king of the Vindhya country):—

- 4a विस्व्ये(?)श्वरान्तरङ्गश्रीगोपालदासकृते चिकित्सामृते शिष्योपनयनाध्यायः ।
 151b इति विन्धेश्वरान्तरङ्गश्रीमद् ... वृष्याध्यायः ।
 153a विन्धेश्वरान्तरङ्गश्री ... मिश्रकाध्यायः ।
 161a इति विन्धेश्वरान्तरङ्गश्री ... ज्वरनिदानम् ।

This patron of the author cannot, however, be identified. If the word is interpreted as 'the lord of the Vindhya region' it can be argued that the author also belonged to the same region and not to Bengal. We therefore refer here briefly to the evidence found in abundance in the book which proves that the author was undoubtedly a native of Bengal.

Gopālādāsa belonged to Bengal: (1) In the chapter on Dravyābhidhāna the author has attempted to identify things by mentioning the current local names, all of which are still used in Bengal and mostly in Bengal alone. e.g.

लिम्बकेत्वल्पजम्बीरे नलदम्बश्च कीर्तितः । लेम्बो । (50b) माषकलाइ, वाइआलि (54b), मुथा (53a), भिक्का (51a) पोहणा (61b) ॥ Elsewhere also विम्बी तिषी(?) तदभावे तेलकुचः (204a) चिलीचिमो रोहिताकारमत्स्यो नान्दीलीति प्रसिद्धः (105b) । (2) In the chapter on 'māna' we read:—

दशरत्तिकमाषन्तु गौडमाचक्षतेऽत्र तु ।

दशरत्तिकमाषेण व्यवहारो भिषग्विदान (?) ॥ (107b)

A herb named भद्रोत्कट is now generally taken by physicians as a synonym of भद्राक्षिका (i. e. भादालि), but the present author clearly distinguishes between the two (*vide* fol. 40a for भद्रोत्कट=उदारकर and 46a for भादालि); and remarks in one place (257a under the recipe Bṛhat-Chāgalādyā)—भद्रोत्कटो उदारकश्च (?) इति राढ़ायां प्रसिद्धः (compare Śivadāsa's note under Strīroga). (3) An alphabetical list of authorities cited in the fragment is given below and it will be observed that all the most recent authorities in this list belonged without exception to Bengal. All this evidence becomes quite redundant if we accept the emendation suggested above in the corrupt reading of the verse recording the author's family origin.

List of Authorities

Amitaprabha (129a)/ Aśvinīkumārasaṃhitā (127a)/ Āyurvedasāra (181b)/ Kusumāvalī i.e. Vṛndaṭikā (often from 127b)/ Kauśika

(177b)/ Gadādhara (54a)/ Gayadāsa (Suśrutaṭīkā 89a)/ Guṇākara (180b)/ Govardhana (143a)/ Cakra (often)/ Candrikā (143a &c.)/ Cikitsākalikā (128b)/ Jejjāda (174b)/ TRIVIKRAMADEVA (71a &c. 8 times): this is the only name of the list which is not found in the *Ratnaprabhā* of Nīścalakara. It can be surmised that the latter preceded the former. One of Trivikrama's works has been discovered—the *Laubhapradīpa*—and the epithet 'Gauḍāntahpura-vaidyā' attached to his name (Weber's *Berlin Cat.*, 1853, p. 301) proves that like Nīścalakara he was the physician of the Royal harem of a certain king of Bengal evidently before the Muslim conquest. The quotations in the present work as well as the commentary by Śivadāsa Sena on Cakrapāṇi's *Dravyagūṇa* prove that this Trivikrama belonging to a 'Deva' family of the Vaidyas of Bengal wrote several works other than the *Laubhapradīpa*.

Dīpikā (34a &c.)/ Dṛḍhabala (120a)/ *Devīpurāṇa* (152a)/ Nāgārjuna (127b)/ Nīścalakara (very often from 127a)/ Patañjali (132b)/ Parāśara (129b)/ PAVANA KUNDA, a name not found anywhere else (71a:—पूतिमारुतमिति सुगन्धिपवनमिति त्रिविक्रमः पूत्यपानमारुतमिति) वाभट्टटीकायां पवनकुण्डः। The title 'Kuṇḍa' marks him out as belonging to a Vaidya family of Bengal.)/ Bhaṭṭāra (126a)/ Bhavyadatta (163b)/ *Bhānumatī* (118b)/ Bhela (115a)/ Bhoja (123b)/ Mādhava with the *Madbhukoṣa* (153b)/ *Yogarātnākara* (132b)/ *Ratnaprabhā* (222a)/ Ravigupta (166a)/ Vakula (149b)/ Vaṅgasena (129a &c.)/ Vāpyacandra (162a)/ Vābhata (116a &c.)/ Vabhaṭaṭīkā (71a)/ Vijayarakṣita (174b &c.)/ *Viṣṇudharmottara* (22b)/ Vṛṇḍa (often from 118b)/ Vṛṇḍaṭīkā (by Śrīkaṇṭha, 270-1)/ *Vaidyapradīpa* (128a)/ Śabdārṇava (41b &c.)/ Śrīkaṇṭha Datta (very often from 127a)/ *Hārāvālī* (51a)/ Hārīta (177b). The largest number of references is to Śrīkaṇṭha (23 times) and Nīścala (21 times), the two distinguished pupils of Vijayarakṣita and the conflict of views between them is noted in many cases (*vide foll.* 127a, 167b, 184a, 196b, 222a, 275a & 293a). His predilection towards Nīścala should be noted (174b—इति निश्चलकरपादाः, the only place where a reverential term has been used. Also 175b निश्चलकरव्याख्यानं प्रचरति), proving that like Nīścala, who undoubtedly belonged to Bengal (*I. H. Q.*, XXIII, pp. 128-29) and is not cited as far as we are aware by any scholar outside Bengal, Gopāladāsa was a native of Bengal.

Gopāladāsa was a staunch Vaiṣṇava: Like his son Gaṅgādāsa

Gopāladāsa was a great devotee of Viṣṇu. We quote below two nice verses of his from the present work as a fitting conclusion to our account.

126b : — यदीयचरणाम्भोजद्वयस्मृतिरसायनम् ।

तनोत्यमृतमद्वैतं सोऽस्तु सिद्धिकरोहरिः ॥

153ab : — हे लोकाः परमं हितं शृणुत वो वक्ष्यामि संक्षेपतः

संसारार्णवमामभूमिवहलं सम्यक् प्रविश्य स्थिताः ।

नानाज्ञानमपास्य चेतसि नमो नारायणायेत्यमुं

मन्त्रं सप्रणवं प्रणामसहितं प्रावर्तयन्त्वं मुहुः ॥

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA.

The Mārutamāṇḍana of Vanamālimiśra

Among the polemical writers who succeeded Vyāsātīrtha (A.D. 1478- 1539)¹ and whose task it was to defend Dvaita Vedānta against the onslaughts of powerful champions of Advaita like Appayya Dikṣita and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, Vanamālimiśra is a very highly honoured name. Not less than *sixteen* works of his are enumerated by Mm. Gopinath Kaviraj in his *Foreword* to the *Madhvamukhālāṅkāra*, edited by Narasimhacharya Varkhedkar. *Fifth* in this list is *Mārutamāṇḍana*, while *Madhvamukhālāṅkāra*² is the last. Obviously, the editors here think that the two works are different. It was Shri B. N. Krishnamurthi Sarma³ that suspected, for the first time, that these two “are not in reality two different works.” But he could not be definite on the point since the only known Ms. of the *Mārutamāṇḍana* is deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, as Ms. No. 718 of 1882-83, and its use might not have been available to him. Fortunately the Ms. caught the attention of Shri P. K. Gode, the Curator of the Institute, and he recently⁴ gave an elaborate analysis of its contents. On examination of this analysis I find that the *Mārutamāṇḍana* is identical with the *Madhvamukhālāṅkāra*, that the two names are synonymous, and that the Poona Ms. opens in the middle of what is line 11 on p. 2. of the printed edition of the latter work.

1 B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma, *New Indian Antiquary*, II. 659.

2 Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts, No. 68, Benares, 1936, pp. 1 t.

3 I.H.Q., March 1940, XVI, 17.

4 I.H.Q., September 1946, XXII, 163 ff.

In the course of his analysis, Shri P. K. Gode makes a few queries some of which I am able to answer now. The teacher referred to frequently in the work as *asmadācārya* or *Marut* is no other than Ānandatīrtha or Madhvācārya, the well-known protagonist of Dvaita Vedānta of which Vanamālimiśra is an adherent from U. P. And the god *Hayakandhara* to whom respects are paid in the third of the concluding verses is only *Hayagrīva*, the horse-headed incarnation of Viṣṇu popular among the followers of Rāmānuja and Madhva.

Shri B. N. K. Sarma⁵ places Vanamālimiśra "roughly between (A. D.) 1590 and 1655 and his literary activities between (A. D.) 1620 and 1655" on the basis of the fact that the Poona Ms. of the *Mārutamāṇḍana* is dated *Samvat* 1741 (=A. D. 1685). This circumstance coupled with Vanamāli's references to Vyāsātīrtha and Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, make Shri P. K. Gode assign⁶ our author to the period between A. D. 1575 and 1650. It seems to me that the *terminus a quo* given by both these scholars is rather early. The *Nyāyāmṛtasaugandhya*⁷ of Vanamālimiśra is a spirited reply to the *Laghucandrikā* of Brahmānanda Sarasvatī, as his *Taraṅginīśaurabha* is to the *Gurucandrikā* of the same writer. As the famous commentator on the works of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī,⁸ especially on the *Advaita-siddhi*, Brahmānanda Sarasvatī should belong to the 17th cent. A. D. As his pointed critic Vanamāli could even be pushed to the beginning of the next century. But since there are two Mss. of his works in Poona, the one dated A. D. 1685 and the other A. D. 1692,⁹ it seems necessary to look upon Vanamālimiśra as a contemporary, may be junior, of Brahmānanda Sarasvatī. It is quite possible that the two Poona Mss. mentioned above are contemporaneous with their author.

H. G. NARAHARI

5 *I.H.Q.*, March 1940, XVI, 15.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 168.

7 A palm-leaf Ms. (Shelf-number XXVI. D. 26) of this work is available in the Adyar Library. In the Introduction, English and Sanskrit, to the *Madhvamukhālaṅkāra* it is stated that this work also is to appear in the *Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts*. But, as yet, it is not known whether the programme was fulfilled or not.

8 P. C. Divanji (Introduction to *Siddhāntabindu*, Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. 64, Baroda, 1933, p. xxv) fixes the life-time of this reputed writer between A.D. 1540 and 1647.

9 P. K. Gode, *loc. cit.*

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

ब्रह्मचर्या

(*Journal of the Advaitasabha*), vol. I, no. 1 (Oct.-Dec., 1948)

- S. SUBRAMANIA SASTRI.—ज्ञानाङ्कुशं सचिवरणम् (*Jñāṅkuśa with Vivaraṇa*). The *Vivaraṇa* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya is edited here for the first time. It is an exposition of twenty-five anonymous Kārikās prescribing means of controlling the unruly mind with the help of 'knowledge.'
- मनीषापञ्चकम् तात्पर्यदीपिकासहितम् (*Maniṣāpañcaka with Tātparya-dīpikā*). The *Tātparyadīpikā* on Śaṅkara's *Maniṣāpañcaka* is a commentary by Sadāśivendra not published before.
- K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*Śrī Śaṅkarācārya Gospel of Bhakti and Mukti*. The contention of the paper is that Śaṅkara admits the importance of Bhakti in the realisation of Supreme Bliss and he has not relegated to a lower level the Mukti derived from the realisation of *Saguṇa* Brahman.

Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. XIII

- R. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—*Kumārasambhava*. This 'Study' of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* discusses the beauty and appropriateness of some thoughts and expressions in the poem.
- S. E. BALASUBRAHMANYAN.—*The Oldest Chidambaram Inscriptions*. This instalment of the paper deals with an account of the Pallavas of the Simhaviṣṇu line (600-890 A.C.) and the Coḷas (c. 850-1279 A.C.) in conformity with records found at Chidambaram. Here is also published as the earliest record of the place an inscription found on a slab built into the floor of the Naṭarāja temple of Chidambaram announcing the gift of a perpetual lamp.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XXVI, part ii, (August, 1948)

- V. N. KARAMBEKAR.—*On the Sages of the Atharvaveda*. The Bhṛguś and the Ātharvaṇas predominate in the *Atharvaveda*. Of these two classes of Ṛṣis, the Ātharvaṇas were ancient priests whereas the Bhṛguś were a clan of warlike Brāhmaṇas.

- T. K. JOSEPH.—*Ports and Ports of Malabar (A.D. 50-150)*. Some important places of ancient Malabar mentioned particularly in Periplus, Ptolemy etc. are identified in the article.
- K. NARASIMHACHARY.—*The Annals of Madras. : The Brahmins*. The old procedure of taking oaths in the Courts is described.
- GIRISH CHANDRA AWASTHI.—*The Periods of the Veda*. According to the paper the names of priests and sacrifices found common in the Vedas suggest that all the Mantras were compiled contemporaneously and there is no reason to regard the *R̥gveda* as earlier.
- JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR.—*The Fate of Mir Jumla's Karnatak Dominions*.
- K. SESHADRI.—The Substance of Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya*.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XVI, pt. IV

- A. VENKATASUBBIA.—*Vedic Studies: III. Gotram*. The conclusion reached in the paper is that any of the meanings of 'mountain rock,' 'protection' and 'family' fits in the context very well in all the Vedic passages in which the word *gotra* occurs, "and it is unnecessary to assign to it the meaning 'herd of cows' also."
- K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*Janārdana Vyāsa—A Protégé of Kavīndrācārya*. In the 17th century Janārdana Vyāsa or Janārdana Vibudha wrote several works in Sanskrit, some of them under the patronage of the illustrious scholar Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī. A manuscript of his *Kāvyaaprakāśadīpikā* deposited in the Anup Sanskrit Library has been described here.
- S. VENKATASUBRAMANIA IYER.—*The Saubhāgyacandātapa of Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita*. Nīlakaṇṭha's profound knowledge of Tantra literature can be inferred from this discussion on the contents of the *Saubhāgyacandātapa*, a rare treatise on Śākta Tantra now available in an incomplete and damaged palm-leaf manuscript.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters,
vol. XIV, no. 1, 1948

- DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*The Śākta Pīṭhas*. This monograph contains a critical edition of a Tantric text entitled *Pīṭhanirṇaya* or *Mahāpīṭha-*

nirṇaya dealing with the religious seats of a particular type associated with the worship of Śakti (Mother-goddess). The author has discussed in the Introduction, Notes and Appendices various topics of interest e.g. the date of composition of the treatise, its relation to other texts, the origin and development of the Pīṭha legends, conception of the Yonikuṇḍa and Stanakuṇḍa associated with that of Liṅga, some early Tīrthas associated with the Limbs of the Mother-goddess, the tradition about four Pīṭhas, the Tantric Schools of North-Western and Eastern India, different traditions regarding the number of Pīṭhas, date of the *Tantrasāra*, names of Pīṭhas, and the place of Śiva and Śakti in the orthodox Indian pantheon.

Journal of Śrī Venkaṭeśvara Oriental Institute,
vol. IX, no 2, (July-December, 1948)

- K. C. VARADACHARI.—*East and West: Religion and Philosophy*.
- D. T. TATACHARYA.—*R̥gveda and the Pūrvottaramīmāṃsā Methods of Interpretation*. This portion of the 'Lectures' considers "The Uttaramīmāṃsā method of interpretation" and discusses "how according to it the R̥gveda stands."
- K. C. VARADACHARI.—*Perennial Philosophy*.
- N. SUBRAMANIA SASTRI.—*Agriculture in the Vedas and the Epics*.
- P. V. RAMANUJASWAMI.—*An Account of Śaṭhakopa*. The Vaiṣṇava worshippers in the South Indian temples are supplied with a crown surmounted with the sandals of the temple deity for their purification. The crown is called Śaṭhakopa. An ancient Tamil saint is also known to have borne the same name. An account of the origin of this appellation is given here from the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas.
- T. VIRARAGHAVACHARI.—*वैशेषिकदर्शनम्* In this issue of the Journal is published another instalment of the *Vaiśeṣikadarśana* (3rd Adhyāya, 2nd Āhnikā—5th Adhyāya, 2nd Āhnikā) which is being edited with a new commentary called *Vaiśeṣikarāsāyana*.
- P. V. RAMANUJASWAMI.—*Laghuśabdārthasaruvasva*: The *Laghuśabdārthasaruvasva* is a Sanskrit Encyclopædia (still in manuscript) by a scholar (of the last century) Paravastu Venkata Rangacharyalu Ayyavaralugaru of Vizagapattam. A few select articles are published here: अन्याथाव्यति, अपूर्व, अश्व, आकाश and आहार

Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 92, No. 6

PAUL-EMILE DUMONT.—*The Horse-sacrifice in the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*.

The text of the 8th and 9th Prapāṭhakas of the 3rd Kāṇḍa of the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* dealing with the procedure and ritualistic details of the Vedic sacrifice Aśvamedha has been given here with an English translation. This sacrifice considered to be the manifestation of a solar cult has been characterised as a magical rite ensuring its royal performer victory and sovereignty along with fecundity.

A Few Opinions

Prof. M. Winternitz.—It is full of highly interesting and important matter, and keeps up a high standard of scholarship..... It promises to become a great help to all students of Indian History.

Prof. H. Jacobi.—I have perused your quarterly with great interest..... I may have occasion to contribute to it now and then.

Prof. J. Jolly of Germany—I entertain a very high opinion of the Quarterly.

Dr. E. J. Thomas.—The Indian Historical Quarterly has always attracted me as being one of the most interesting Oriental Journals and I realise how much this depends on wise editorship. I think you are doing a great work in helping and stimulating oriental scholarship in India.

Prof. Sylvain Levi.—Congratulate you on the truly 'national' work you are doing for Mother India. Your Quarterly is the best evidence of the wonderful progress accomplished by Indian scholars in these last years, a progress that I followed with a sincere joy.

Dr. Otto Strauss.—I am very well pleased with your Journal and I hope it will be as interesting and successful as the bygone years.

Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri, Hony. Member. Royal Asiatic Society: The Quarterly is becoming more and more useful, more and more learned. You deserve the thanks of the Indian public by focussing so many eminent writers in your Quarterly..... I am reading all Oriental Journals, and about India yours is the most informing.